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THE

LIFE

OF THE LATE

GEN. WILLIAM EATON;

SEVERAL YEARS AN OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES' ARMY, CONSUL AT THE REGENCY OF TUNIS ON THE COAST OF BARBARY, AND COMMANDER OF THE CHRISTIAN AND OTHER FORCES THAT MARCHED FROM EGYPT THROUGH THE DESERT OF BARCA, IN 1805, AND CONQUERED THE CITY OF DERNE, WHICH LED TO THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REGENCY OF TRIPOLI:

PRINCIPALLY COLLECTED FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS.

BROOKFIELD:

PRINTED BY E. MERRIAM & CO.

1813.

DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

BE it remembered, That on the sixteenth day of April, A. D. 1813, and in the thirty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, Ebenezer Merriam of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"THE LIFE OF THE LATE GEN. WILLIAM EATON; SEVERAL YEARS AN OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES' ARMY, CONSUL AT THE REGENCY OF TUNIS ON THE COAST OF BARBARY, AND COMMANDER OF THE CHRISTIAN AND OTHER FORCES THAT MARCHED FROM EGYPT THROUGH THE DESERT OF BARCA, IN 1805, AND CONQUERED THE CITY OF DERNE, WHICH LED TO THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REGENCY OF TRIPOLI: PRINCIPALLY COLLECTED FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, intitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also, to an act, intitled "An act supplementary to an act, intitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical, and other Prints."

WILLIAM S. SHAW,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

THE COMPILER's PREFACE.

GEN. EATON expired, June 1st, 1811. Shortly after his decease, several gentlemen, who having a just, entertained a high opinion of his talents and services, expressed a wish to see a history of his life and atchievments, believing that in his numerous manuscripts there were ample materials, by judicious selection, for a biography of his life and a relation of its principal events, that were worthy preservation: hoping at the same time that a volume might be published of sufficient interest to defray the expense of publication, and perhaps yield a profit that might do much towards educating his orphan children. Major AMOS PAINE of Woodstock, (Con.) the husband of a sister of GEN. EATON, from regard to the family, and solely with a hope of rendering it a service, offered to risque the expense of publication. Having been intimately acquainted with EATON, and with much of his public life, trusting, perhaps too much, to my judgment and fitness for the undertaking, Mr. Paine requested me to make the desired selections, and superintend the work. Being under obligations to spend the ensuing winter in the City of Washington, and there not being sufficient time for the execution of the work before the winter, it was agreed to defer it till the next spring. A disappointment in procuring paper delayed the commencement of the printing till late in the autumn of the last year. If however the volume contains amusement, instruction or interest, this delay can have no essential effect in its sale.—These particulars are mentioned merely to account for the lateness of a volume so long before announced.

Of the greater part of his life GEN. EATON kept a journal: he preserved copies of all his official, and most of his private letters: a dozen volumes of the size of this would not contain the whole. To examine and collect, from such a mass of papers, what is most interesting; and at the same time so to connect it, so as to afford, from his own pen, a relation of his life and its principal transactions, has been a difficult and laborious undertaking. Some things are perhaps omitted which many would deem of more importance than others which are inserted; and some things are inserted which others may consider of little value. To please all was an impracticable task. Having no one to consult; no guide but my own very fallible judgment; censure of that judgment is to be expected; but censure of its faithful exercise would be most unmerited.

Not having it at all times in my power to examine the proof sheets it is probable that some small errors of the press may be discovered; some perhaps have escaped my own attention: nothing I trust however of importance.

I at first intended to divide the work into chapters; but finding that such division must be entirely arbitrary, and that no advantage could arise from it; it was deemed advisable rather to leave the whole to such pauses as the dates or transactions naturally suggest.

An insertion of the list of Subscribers was intended; but it has been found impracticable to obtain in season the different subscription papers issued, a few in the neighborhood excepted: hence, and the insertion being considered of little importance, it has been thought unnecessay to delay the publication for an object of such minor consequence.

THE EDITOR.

Brookfield, April 20th, 1813.

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THE LIFE

OF

GEN. WILLIAM EATON;

TOGETHER WITH SOME OF HIS *CORRESPONDENCE* AND OTHER *WRITINGS.*

THAT biography which is dictated by the partiality of friendship, or is distorted by unfriendly prepossessions; which in vivid colors pourtrays only the virtues, or with rancorous exultation displays only the shades of departed excellence; while it violates the sanctity of truth, equally disappoints the expectations of honest curiosity, and encourages the extension of incertitude and perversion. The public have a just claim on the man who professes to exhibit the character of the deceased: it claims a faithful likeness drawn by the pencil of truth. The old precept *Nil de mortuis nisi bonum*, was never intended for history or biography: adhesion to such a dictate would effectually destroy the value of both.

Nor can the delineation of the character, and relation of the actions, of an individual, be of utility to the reader, where are discovered only the amiable and exalted traits; and where only the brilliant exploits are exhibited. It is not less necessary to show the foibles and deviations from duty, than the virtues and meritorious atchievements; that the former may be

produced for avoidance, and the latter displayed for imitation.

The subject of these memoirs, WILLIAM EATON, was born at *Woodstock*, *Connecticut*, February 23d, 1764. He was the second son of Mr. NATHAN and Mrs. SARAH EATON. His father died Nov. 23d, 1804: his mother is still alive. His father was a plain farmer, who supported his family by manual industry, and, for nearly twenty years, by keeping school during the winter season, for which he was qualified by more than ordinary school acquirements. He had a large family for whom to provide, having had thirteen children, eight of whom are still living.

WILLIAM early discovered intellectual vigor and eccentricity. To labor he was extremely averse in his boyhood; a book, a pen and a gun, being his constant delight. Of his father he learnt to read and write, and made considerable progress in arithmetic. When compelled to work in the field or the woods, he usually concealed a book in his pocket or hid it in the field, for the perusal of which he left his work when not overseen, and during the intervals of labor.

HE was about ten years of age when his parents removed from *Woodstock* to *Mansfield*. While a boy, in this town, such was his fearless and adventurous spirit that he several times was near losing his life by his daring carelessness. Returning one sunday from public worship, he climbed a cherry tree that stood beside the way, from which he fell, and dislocated his shoulder; and such was the concussion, owing to the height whence he fell, that he was deprived of his reason for several days. The first appearance of returning rationality was noticed on the succeeding wednesday. A neighbor, a tanner by trade, sitting by his bedside, asked him if he loved cherries. "Do you love *hides*?" was the responsive quere.

When about sixteen years of age, without the consent or even knowledge of his parents, or the com-

munication of his intentions to any one, he eloped from home, and enlisted in the army. He here continued upwards of a year, the greater part of the time in the capacity of a waiter to Major DENNIE, of the Connecticut troops.

Becoming ill in health he obtained liberty to return to Connecticut: But, on his journey home, he became so lame that he was unable to proceed, when within about two days journey of Mansfield. Being without friends, he supported himself in the family of a farmer, by mending old chairs. After remaining here three weeks, his father, having learned where he was, came for him, and offered to pay the farmer for his board. The farmer however refused any remuneration; declaring that the mending of chairs, and the instruction he had given his children, were sufficient recompence; and he should be very willing to board him much longer, merely for his good company.

WILLIAM, however was not long contented at home; and, on the recovery of his health, again joined the army; in which he continued till the first of April 1783, when he was regularly discharged, having been some time before promoted to a sergeant's birth.

He continued with his parents till September, 1784, when he commenced the study of the latin language, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. NOTT of *Franklin*. In the winter he commenced the study of the Greek language.

In the summer of 1785, his mind was most seriously affected with religious impressions, and he was regularly propounded and admitted to membership in the church of that place.

In October of the same year he proceeded to Hanover (N. H.) and was admitted a Freshman in Dartmouth College, with permission to remain absent during the ensuing winter. Such liberty being at that time frequently granted to students in indigent circumstances, with the expectation that while em-

ployed in teaching school for the purpose of replenishing their purse, those to whom such indulgence is given, would attend to the studies pursued by their classmates at the University, and be prepared for examination and re-entrance into their class. Eaton however, in consequence of certain embarrassments at home, and devotion of most of his time to school keeping, received no advantage from his admittance in 1785, as he was again admitted, in May 1787, a member of the Freshman class.

In November 1785, he commenced a school in a parish of Windham, called Scotland, devoting however a part of his time to his college studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Coggswell. Here he continued till the 1st of June 1786: When he returned to his parents in Mansfield, laboring on the farm a part of the time, and devoting a part to the pursuit of his studies, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Welch of Mansfield; a gentleman for whom he ever after entertained the highest respect.

In November he re-commenced his school in Windham; in which he continued till the ensuing March, 1787.

In May, 1787, with his staff over his shoulder, on which was suspended his pack, containing a change of linen, and a few trinkets, which he expected to sell on his journey, and with one pistareen only of ready money, he started on foot from Mansfield, to regain admittance at Dartmouth College. Arriving at Northfield his money was all expended; his spirits were depressed; and he gave himself up to tears for several hours. At length, resuming courage, he ventured to offer his pins, needles &c. for sale; and, with the avails and charitable assistance on the road, was enabled to reach Hanover. Producing a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Mr. Nott to President Wheelock, he was by that gentleman treated with great kindness; was examined, and joined the Freshman class, then in their last quarter.

From the 1st of January, to the 1st of May 1788, he taught a school in Windsor (Vt.) and then returned to Hanover.

July 4th, by appointment, he sustained a part in a dramatic performance, in an exhibition ordered for that day, by the authority of the College.

Aware of the necessity of every exertion that could be made to enable him to maintain himself through his academic course, he pursued his studies with the most unremitting industry, in order to preserve his standing, yet be enabled to devote a great part of his time to school keeping. Excessive application impaired his health, and he was attacked with a hectic fever. His physician advised him to suspend his studies : to which advice however he did not yield till compelled by disease. By a journey to Windsor, attention to his complaint while there, and refraining from study, he gradually recovered his health and strength.

In November he commenced a school in that town, devoting all his spare hours to the prosecution of his studies, not unfrequently trimming his lamp till the grey dawn reminded him of the necessity of sleep. Here he continued till May 1789, when he rejoined his class.

In September he re-commenced his school in Windsor, and continued in it till May 1790, where he remained till the collegiate exercises of the Senior class were closed. After a journey to Connecticut, he returned to Hanover and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, at Commencement, Aug. 25th. His performance was a poetic dialogue, in conjunction with his classmate Wm. Jackson. [Of this performance I find no trace among his papers.]

The ensuing December he again opened a school in Windsor, in which he continued till Aug. 1791, when he quitted the business of a pedagogue.

In October he was chosen Clerk to the House of Delegates for the State of Vermont.

During the next winter he made a visit to Connecticut. He had a brother, Mr. Calvin Eaton, who at that time resided in Brimfield, (Mass.) whom he visited on his journey. He had been previously partially acquainted with the family of the Hon. Timothy Danielson of that town; a gentleman of liberal education, who had sustained several important civil and military offices, and who was most highly respected by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Gen. Danielson at his decease left a widow, then about twenty five years of age, with whom Mr. Eaton renewed his acquaintance.

In March, 1792, he received official information of his having been appointed a Captain in the Army of the United States, of which appointment he accepted. This appointment, I have been informed, was procured partly, if not mostly, through the instrumentality of the Hon. Stephen R. Bradley, now, and for many years past a Senator of the United States from Vermont.

Agreeably to orders from the war department, in May, he proceeded to Bennington, (Vt.) and took charge of the recruits that had been raised by his Ensign, Charles Hyde, and commenced himself the recruiting service.

In July he took the three first degrees in Freemasonry in the North Star Lodge at Manchester.

Some of his soldiers having deserted, Capt. Eaton pursued them, taking himself the rout to Windham, (Ct.) and ordering a sergeant to Windsor, (Vt.) After spending a short time in Brimfield, he was married, at Union, (Ct.) on the 21st of August, to Mrs. Eliza Danielson; and immediately departed for Windsor, where he found his sergeant with the deserters.

Having received marching orders, he proceeded, in September, to Albany with his company, thence to New-York and Philadelphia. Being here joined by some other troops he was ordered to Pittsburg,

where the troops arrived, Oct. 22. He was here introduced to Gen. Wayne.

Shortly after the troops proceeded down the Ohio, and joined the army at Legionville.

In March 1793 Capt. EATON had an altercation with the acting Adjutant General, which as it displays much of his hasty and decisive temper, I shall relate, in his own words.

"Sunday, March 17.—General Review.—In consequence of a deficiency of field officers, I commanded the left column of the army. In the course of the maneuvres, the General ordered my column, which I had formed in two lines afront, and cover for an attack in front, to form the line in the flank by facing the lines to the left, and wheeling by files to the right. This brought my flank platoons and music in the centre; the centre on the flanks, and my rear rank in front.

When the firing ceased—the Acting Adjutant General gave orders to take up the line of march, and return in the same order as we marched on the ground, which was by files from the right, countermarch—I immediately ordered the two wings to countermarch from the left and centre, which was the only possible method of bringing them to their proper order.—The Adj. Gen. observing this, and not knowing the position of the column, countermanded his own order, by ordering me to countermarch by the left—I was positively right, and was confident that I was bringing the column in the position which he himself wished—and consequently continued my march—When I had brought the head of the column to its proper position—B. the Adj. Gen. met me, and in presence of the General taxed me with having disobeyed a positive general order. I told him I positively had not, but was right—A short, but pointed contradiction ensued—B. threatened to make me repent my conduct—I challenged him to do it—This irritated his rage, he advanced on horseback towards me with his lifted sword—I met

his advance with my espontoon—The General emphatically observed that this was no place to altercate, and ordered the march to continue—I promptly obeyed. When the Legion returned to the grand parade and were dismissed—I wrote B. a challenge as follows—

Legionville, 17th March, 5 o'clock, P. M.

SIR,

I am to understand—and am to be understood by Capt. Butler.

EATON.

The Acting Adj. Gen.

This billet was honored by my friend, Captain Slough, on reception of which B. pledged his honor that I should hear from him.

The next morning, he wrote me the following answer.

18th March, 1793.

SIR,

I received your note by Capt. Slough, and had wrote last evening in answer (if it be possible to answer one so equivocal:) however, ere I had quite finished, company came in and prevented me. On a review of the contents this morning, least any ill natured person should put wrong constructions, I will first make you this proposal, that as I feel myself exceedingly aggrieved in your conduct of yesterday, we will take the opportunity of a general explanation in the presence of the gentlemen who commanded in your column, and who must generally understand what passed, and the cause—

Should this explanation not prove satisfactory, you shall be apprized of my further intentions—You can name the place if you please; and let me know.

Yours, &c.

E. BUTLER.

Capt. Wm. Eaton.

To which I wrote—

Monday Evening, 18th March.

SIR,

With pleasure I wait on you in company with the gentlemen of my column— Please, Sir, name the time and place.

EATON.

Capt. Butler, Acting Adj. Gen.

In return of which I received the following.

18th March, 1793.

SIR,

Having received your note of acquiescence, I have appointed Capt. Price's hut as the place of meeting. I shall endeavor to attend there in one hour.

Monday, half past 6 o'clock, P. M.

E. BUTLER.

Capt. Eaton.

Accordingly we met—I observed to the gentlemen that I had come there in consequence of Capt. Butler's request, who had called on them to attend, and that I expected he would suggest his business to them. This he did, by a statement of a number of questions ; and we retired.

Soon the gentlemen requested our attendance, and exhibited their opinion as follows.

" The referees, to determine the difference between Captains Butler and EATON, are of opinion that *however* wrong Capt. EATON was, in the first instance, Capt. Butler was *equally* if not more so in the second : and as they were both unfortunate in being culpable, so it is incumbent on both to come forward and bury the matter in oblivion, by again renewing their former friendship.

BENJAMIN PRICE, *Capt. 4th S. Leg. President.*

March 18, '93.

To this opinion Capt. B. conceded, and offered me his hand. I observed that I would ever sacrifice my own to the opinion of my friends ; and accepted it."

On the 5th of May the army arrived at Cincinati. EATON thus described the Ohio and its banks.

" During the last three days of our descent, the circumstance of my having been detailed for the rear guard, gave me a very considerable advantage of the officers who were attached to the line—I took my own time to progress, and my own method of observation so far as was consistent with my orders. Never was my eye so much delighted with the rude uncultured grandeur of nature. A description of the banks of the Ohio mocks, or can but ape reality. Geography has never yet done justice to the subject. For more than two hundred miles I saw not a hill incapable of culture. All so far as eye can ken is a fertile bottom variegated with gentle rises. The rank and rapid growth of vegetation, and the prodigious weight of timber, demonstrate the natural luxuriance of the soil. The sycamore, the elm, the beach, the aspin, the hicory, the walnut, and the maple, or sugar tree, are large beyond credibility. The trees even at this early season, were in full foliage. The herbage which covered the surface of the bottom, was nearly two feet high. I frequently walked the bottom, with two faithful soldiers of my guard, one of whom was an active Canadian, till I found myself almost insensibly strayed two or three miles from my boat. The soil continued the same. These little excursions, or rather eccentricities, were on the Indian side of the river. The tracks of dear, bear and buffaloes, were extremely plenty, and here and there a mokasin. I saw none of the animals ; the noise of the proceding army had probably frighted them from the shore.

After all which can be said of its banks little can be said of the river. It is the most capricious stream I ever saw. However incredible, true it is, that its waters frequently rise in the freshes from ten to fifteen feet in one night, and fall again in a very few days. Its current is rapid, at the rate of five miles an hour in time of the freshes ; consequently

the unwieldy boats which float down, never ascend. Keel bottom boats and canoes are rowed against the current, but with considerable labor. I am no friend to the first."

In August, an Ensign by the name of Morgan, was tried by a Court Martial, on charges exhibited by Gen. St. CLAIR, and cashiered. EATON thus records the names of the Court, and their subsequent fate a short time after.

"Brigadier Gen. THOMAS POSEY, President—Resigned and dead.

Majors.	D.	Resigned and dead.
	H.	Damned by brandy.
Captains.	P.	Dead per do.
	P.	Dead.
	EATON.	At Tunis.
	P.	Damned by brandy.
	M.	Dead.
	F.	Dead.
	P.	Dead.
	J.	Damned by brandy.
	CAMPBELL.	Killed."

Such is the disgust with which men view the imprudence and vices of others; so confident too of never immitating their examples:

> Yet, seen too oft, familiar to the face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Capt. EATON continued with the western army till February 1794, when he obtained leave of absence. During this time he was engaged in various skirmishes and scouting parties, and assisted in the erection of *Fort Recovery*.

The following is the character which he gives of Gen. Wayne, written about the year 1795.

"He is firm in constitution as in resolution;—industrious, indefatigable, determined and persevering;—fixed in opinion, and unbiased in judgment;—not over accessible; but studious to reward merit. He is a rock against which the waves of calumny

and malice, moved by the gust of passions natural to envy, have dashed—have washed its sides. He is still immoveable on his base—He is in some degree susceptible of adulation, as is every man who has an honest thirst for military fame—He endures fatigue and hardship with a fortitude uncommon to men of his years. I have seen him in the most severe night of the winter of '94, sleep on the ground like his fellow soldier; and walk around his camp at four in the morning, with the vigilance of a sentinel."

"His manners are austere and forbidding, but his heart is susceptible of the finest feelings of sensibility. When in danger, he is in his element; and never shows to so good advantage, as when leading a charge. His name is better in an action, or in an enemy's country, than a brigade of undisciplined levies."

After spending a few weeks in Philadelphia, he returned to Brimfield. In June, by request from the war office, he engaged in recruiting at Springfield; the Secretary at War, offering him his option, to attend to the recruiting service, or to return to the army at the westward. In this service he remained till October 1795, when he received orders to march to Georgia. He arrived with his troops in Philadelphia, and on the 1st of December embarked thence for Georgia. On the night of the 13th, arose a most violent storm of rain, hail, thunder and lightning, which is thus described in a letter to Mrs. Eaton.

Hoarse thro' the cordage growled the threatening blast,
Portenteous of the storm. The expanse of Heaven,
O'ercast with murky columns, seemed convulsed
With one wide waste of elemental war.
From every point, along the bounding surges,
Rolled the black phalanx of electric fluid,
Born on the pinions of the maddening storm.
Ocean oppressed, and shrinking from the alarm,
Rushed from the deep with agonizing pangs,
And urged, in vain, precipitate retreat.
Down rushed the glaring tempest, rain and hail,
In winding torrents closed, and the vast space

Of sea and air seemed one promiscuous deluge.
Blue streams of angling sulphur blazed around,
Transforming midnight to the fire of day,
Reserving all her horrors. Peals on peals
Burst from the flaming batteries of heaven,
And nought but horror stalked along the gloom.
Deep plunged the tortured brig beneath the gulph,
Them bounding o'er the waves, along the skies
Inveloped in the storm, wrapt her broad decks
Amidst the lightning's sourse ; then plunged again
Beneath the breaking surges. All the while
The hardened sailor and as hardened soldier,
Dispairing and forlorn, saught that dernier
And natural resort from danger, prayer.
The shrieks of female terror, and the cries
Of infant fear, spoke uniform distraction :
And each articulation plead for mercy :
As if the God creative had forgotten
His attributes of kindness.
Eight gloomy hours we plunged in dread suspence :
Fear and amazement occupied the soul,
And hope was almost exiled : till at length
Breathed the soft spirit of our gentler fate,
Wafting the lightning's vapor through the skies,
Silenced the distant murm'rings of the thunder,
And soothed the angry surface of the deep.
Once more the prince of day smiled from the east,
And each glad heart to a relenting heaven
Tendered the silent gratitude of praise."

On the 26th he arrived at Savannah, and on the 30th at St Mary's. He reported himself to the officer commanding at that station, Lieut. Col. Henry Gaither ; and took the command of a detachment of 160 soldiers from Virginia, whose commanding officer was Capt. Tinsley ; making in the whole number of troops on that station, about 300.

The erection of a fort at Colerain, on the St. Mary's, had been determined, and to this, immediate attention was paid by Capt. EATON, though he had strong objections to the ground, being low, marshy and unhealthy. This fortification he called *Fort* PICKERING ; " not however," says he, " that I might satirize a *good* man by erecting his monument in *mud*."

In May arrived three Commissioners of the U. S. deputed to make a treaty with the Creek Indians, who had long been exceedingly troublesome on the frontiers of Georgia. This was effected the last of June.

The objects of the force at St. Mary's were, the establishment of a trading factory on its waters, and a military force; to overawe the Indians or arrest them if necessary; to keep the Spaniards in check, who had been represented unfriendly; and to prevent any disorderly conduct of the citizens of Georgia towards the inhabitants of Florida. The principle object however had regard to the Indians; which object was in a great measure obtained by the treaty made between the commissioners and the Creeks.

A misunderstanding had for some months existed between Capt. EATON, and Col. Gaither, and other officers; and in August, EATON was arrested and tried by a Court Martial.

As a laborious attempt was made by Col. Burr, during his trial at Richmond, to destroy the credibility and even the competency of EATON's testimony, on account of the charges at this time brought against him; and as some of his friends may have entertained unfavorable suspicions from the circumstance of his having undergone a trial; it is proper that some statement of it should be made. The following letter, though long, it is hoped will not be tedious; as it certainly exhibits no unfavorable specimen of his talents as a pleader, as well as eloquence as a writer. It is addressed to the secretary at war.

Fort Pickering, 13th Sept. 1796.

SIR,

Constrained by the injuries I suffer, I assume the honor of addressing you on a subject not less painful to me than I am sure, it will be unwelcome—

Since my arrival and first acquaintance with the Commandant of the federal troops in Georgia, I have

been apprised of his disposition to embarrass me—My friends say it was in consequence of my command ; but I believe his animosity may be traced to other sources. I reported to him from Savannah 26th, Dec. and from St. Mary's 30th, inclosing a copy of your instructions. On his arrival here in February I submitted to him all arrangements I had either made or contemplated : with these he affected to acquiesce, and even condescended to compliment my exertions—But the mask was soon thrown off, and I found myself placed between his animosity and my own duty. I continued to consult him—but his orders he always, except in a few instances, dictated to me verbally—I found his memory treacherous, and remonstrated against this sort of discipline, but without effect. For obedience of these orders I have in some instances been reprimanded and in one charged with criminality. This with other charges I shall take the liberty to annex to this letter, with a copy of my defence. The proceedings of the court will undoubtedly be forwarded to the war office according to law, from which it may be determined whether the prosecution has been actuated by public or sinister views.

However the command assigned me may have influenced the resentment of the commandant, there are other more ostensible causes ; some of which I beg leave to suggest—He holds lands in the Yazoo purchases.—On his arrival and first introduction he offered me a bargain of 500,000 acres, I think, at 35,000 dollars, not supposing I had informed myself of the invalidity of the title—I acknowledge I humored his proposal to try the extent of his candor, but at length I dropped the subject of the bargain, and candidly reprobated the manner in which the grants were obtained ; at the same time observing that I would not thank a man for an opportunity of speculating on the credulity of ignorance, and at the expence of justice.

He is an allied friend to a man who owns large tracts of land in the vicinity of this post. I have not hesitated to censure the speculative views which must have induced the proprietor to recommend this as a military post, or proper position for the trading factory—Such have been my reports to the War Office—This had added fuel to the blaze already kindled to consume me. But I have dealt uprightly on this subject. The resentment of no man shall warp my sentiments from that which I believe is due to truth and my duty. A post never should have been established here. The vast extent of marshy and low country, retaining the water on its surface, and the putrefaction of all vegetable substances which fall from the trees, or are produced from the soil, impregnate the air with miasmata destructive to health. The country cannot be washed with rains ; the water which falls must principally go off by evaporation. This produces a great degree of humidity in the air ; this is evidenced by the chill which immediately succeeds the absence of the sunbeams, the amazing swarms of musquetoes and other insects which fill the air ; and the numerous small frogs which even get into the chambers and garrets of houses ; the propensity of all metals to corrode when exposed to the air, and the sallow, sickly complexion of the inhabitants, who are settled upon the low bluffs and ridges—The latter, I recollect, made forceable impressions upon the feelings of Mr. Clymer and General Pickens, with whom I did myself the honor to visit a settlement in this vicinity in June last. This miasmata, with which the air is continually more or less impregnated, although it may not be so poisonous as to produce contagious diseases, insensibly preys upon the human system, and in a short time produces sensible effects—The countenances from northern climates, and hilly countries, which are florid and healthful, on being placed a few months in this low ground, become pallid, and the system enervated. This is visible in the

troops who came out with me from the northward, and the citizens who have lived in the upper counties of this and other southern States—The seaboard is healthy ; but I venture to assert, even if it should finish the destruction of my reputation, which has been so hopefully contemplated, that there is but one eligible military position from the mouth to the source of this river, and this is Trader's Hill. For the justice of this remark I beg leave to refer to General Pickens and Col. Hawkins, with both of whom I had the honor to reconnoiter that position, and with the latter the whole extent of country quite to the Indian line. It has been insinuated that I am interested in mentioning Trader's Hill. I solemnly declare I never owned, nor have I in contemplation to own, a foot of land in the state of Georgia—were this otherwise, and the insinuation true, still would my reports remain on the rock of truth. The representations which have been made to recommend this post have been wrapped up in speculation. I do not believe the country in its vicinity can ever be successfully settled. The children born in its neighborhood seldom arrive to adult age. Soon after they leave the breast they assume the complexion before described, and insensibly mature to the grave. The few inhabitants who are settled here and there, beneath the pines, have either been seduced by a dream of fortune, or have escaped from the discipline of law, or the prosecution of catholic jealousy. But at this moment the surface of the country in this vicinity for many miles, except here and there a bluff or ridge, is inundated—I cannot but consider it a prodigality of human life and happiness to sacrifice them to individual interest. Observations of this kind placed me as a target for a formidable coalition. Other circumstances, combined with these, have tended to precipitate the storm : some of which are delineated in my defence. I have frequently said I thought Mr. Price an improper person to be employed at the head of the trading factory. The

moroseness of his disposition, which is so plainly depicted in his countenance, and which exhibits itself on all occasions of the least perplexity, I believe would, and did disgust many of the Indians and traders. From this circumstance I have frequently invited both Indians and traders to my quarters and entertained them, who were dissatisfied with the manners of the factor. These people want much attention, and are as jealous of neglect as people in the refined walks of life. It was my study that they should imagine nothing of the kind from me. By these means I found them growing attached to me and the troops, whom they call Gen. Washington's men. If I have not rendered my country a service by these little sacrifices, I have at least studied to do it. But as nothing can be seen in its true color by a jaundiced eye, so neither was this conduct of mine. My particular attention to these people was construed into an interference with the trading department; and the resentment which this and other things, hereafter mentioned, excited in the factor, added an auxiliary to the coalition.

On intimation of what was carrying on, I twice, by letter, solicited of the commandant a court of enquiry; and repeatedly by verbal request. My first application by writing he totally neglected; my last he equivocally answered and evaded. My verbal requisitions were always procrastinated; hence I saw nothing but my removal from command could effect the object of the allies, and I reconciled myself to the process. On the 5th Aug. I received a letter from the Commandant, from which I extract: "You will make out a return of all public stores which you received in Philadelphia, previous to your sailing to Georgia: also all ordnance and public stores of every kind whatever which you have received since you arrived in Georgia, noting all issues and expenditures; the month for which you have signed abstracts, and the amount of each abstract; and deliv-

er the same to Major Freeman, two days after your receipt of this."

This order I executed with as much accuracy as the time prescribed admitted. On the 7th, I received the following from Major Freeman. "I have to inform you that in obedience to the orders of Lieut. Col. Commandant Gaither, commanding officer of the Federal troops in Georgia, dated F. S. Tammany, on the 3d. instant, I do this day take upon myself the command of the troops in garrison at this post. The following is an extract from the aforesaid order. "It is my request that on your arrival at Colerain you should take upon yourself the command of the troops at that post." You will therefore direct, &c.

This order of the Lieut. Col. was inforced by his verbal order that, if I should refuse to give up the command, the Major should put me in *irons !* High sense of military privilege ! From this, however, he was dissuaded by the argument of the Major; and of it I was never informed till since my trial.

I gave up the command agreeably to the above order ; and on the 17th, received from the hand of the officer of the day, an arrest in the handwriting and signature of Colonel Gaither, containing the charges, which I beg leave to copy in their order in the following defence.

GENTLEMEN,

If I were capable of adulation, and believed you susceptible of the charm, I would not, on this occasion, put myself behind that shield of guilt ; for I stand not here to solicit favors, but to demand justice. Your candor I believe will be measured by the latter, your resolution steeled against the former ; and your understanding placed on the watchtower of truth, to direct your decision ; at the same time that it will stamp correction upon any improper shades,

or colorings, which the interest I feel in that decision may induce me to cast upon the process.

Persuaded I am the court have already grown weary in the tedious investigation of the charges exhibited against me, and I could not a moment draw on your further patience, did I not consider it an obligation due to my own reputation.

Some observations on the evidence before you, applied to the charges, shall introduce my defence.

1st. I am charged with "Speculating on my men with nankeens at sundry times; and other things."

I believe you will find that I never but in one instance had any dealings with the men of my company in nankeens; that I did, by unanimous and voluntary agreement of the company, furnish them with a uniform of nankeen short coats; that they agreed to receive them at any price short of two dollars and fifty cents; and that, on settlement, two dollars only were charged for each coat. The best evidence of which the nature of the case would admit, has undoubtedly been produced on the part of the United States in substantiation of this charge; yet on a calculation which the court will make, rests the question, whether in this article I have intended to profit by the provision made my company. Nothing has appeared to show that the price was unreasonable. Sallyer, a foreman of the taylors, has sworn, that just such coats in Philadelphia, would cost three dollars, or at least two dollars and three quarters. At the lowest rate then, the men save seventy five cents by my speculation. The factor, Mr. Price, it appears, did sell one piece of nankeen to Captain Nickols at one dollar and twenty five cents, and said it was the price he gave in Philadelphia. This may be true. But was the Factor, Mr. Price, on oath when he made this declaration? Will this court admit the cursory observation of a man out of court, and not on oath, to be a criterion to determine the price current of nankeens in Philadelphia, even

when no respect is had to the time of purchase? On no principle can evidence of this sort be admitted!

It appears from the testimony of witnesses that the few pieces which Mr. Price disposed of here, this one piece excepted, were sold at one and an half dollar—These were brought out in the same vessel of the United States with those in question, and sold by a man in the service and pay of government—undoubtly he would not speculate on them. Nankeens have at St. Mary's, all this season, I believe, been sold at one dollar and seventy five cents. Doctor Gillasspy has informed the court that he was asked one dollar and fifty cents for nankeens in the city of New York. It is well known that goods of this kind are cheaper in that metropolis than in Philadelphia—At an early period I informed the court that those nankeens were procured for me by a merchant taylor in Philadelphia. I did not take a bill; nor do I recollect the exact price I gave, but believe it was about one dollar and an half. In addition to the making, binding and other trimming, which were brought into calculation, ought to be reckoned the subsistence which the taylors daily had in my family extra to their rations. I acknowledge it is not in my power to make an exact calculation to a fraction; but from an estimate which was made by Mr. M'Call the paymaster, and myself, it was concluded that two dollars was a reasonable price to fix to the coats. I had been previously informed by the taylors of the price they gave for the binding and other trimmings, as testified by Sallyer, and made my calculations accordingly. The general satisfaction of the men evince that they feel no injury; and it is demonstrated that the measure of receiving them and paying for them was not compulsory. The climate and season of the year, were my reasons for recommending the uniform. I had previously consulted the Lieut. Col. Commandant, and informed him of the price, about two and an half or two dollars; he approved the plan. If justice is done me a more favorable

construction will be applied to my conduct in this affair, and it will be found that humanity rather than avarice actuated my proceeding. I do candidly believe if every thing which ought were brought into the calculation, I have not saved my expences. Sure I am it would require a microscopic eye to count my profit. No evidence appears, even presumptive, to substantiate this charge; if conjecture should be hazzarded on the question, it will go in favor of the defence, for such are the maxims of law and individual right.

The "other things," mentioned in the charge, it seems, must have intended a partnership with a citizen in settling with the troops. That I sold Mr. Hampton eighty pieces of nankeen, bought at vendue, at a profit of 25 per cent, is true; but that I was interested directly, or indirectly in the profit he should make in retailing them, or that I had the most distant idea of any of the troops purchasing them, is not true. His inducement to buy, he told me, was to supply the country people who would attend the treaty. The troops at that time had no money, and no immediate probability of any being paid them. It is well known that their pay was eight months in arrear before they received it for the months of November and December, 1795, and that no order for muster for those months was given until the tenth of June of the current year.

This circumstance, in addition to the wretched quality of the rice, substituted for bread, rendered the situation of the troops extremely disagreeable. I gave my company a permit to trade with Mr. Hampton. Their necessities produced this. Their distresses gave them a plea to that indulgence. Humanity acknowledged the claim they had upon my duty to comply with their repeated solicitations. This I did under such restrictions as I have shown the court. Sugar and molasses were articles they most wanted to qualify their bad rice. They were under no obligation to take any thing: but were at

liberty to take little or more value short of four dollars, or one months pay ; and if they purchased nankeens I had no more interest in it than if they had purchased amours.

Was it speculation on *my men* to sell to a citizen the nankeens I had no use for, at a moderate profit ? It is a novel and hard case, if a man because he wears a particolored coat, may not be allowed, in his dealings with citizens, the common privileges of a citizen ! Were either of us disposed to sell our riding horse, should we feel ourselves confined to our bill of sale for the minute price to fix upon ? I fancy not ! The evidence produced to show my copartnership with Mr. Hampton is so diametrically opposite to the object, that I think no comment need be expended upon it.

I do not believe, gentlemen, that you will find I have " speculated on my men in nankeens at sundry times ; and other things—"

I am charged 2dly of " detaining in my hands the bounty money due my soldiers, which I received in Philadelphia, and paying them off in small goods at an advanced price."

It is an unpleasant thing to awaken misfortune, by commenting on its ills—It is enough that reflection will sometimes point to it, in spite of reason and philosophy. I leave the first article of this charge to such disquisition, gentlemen, as you shall think proper to make : only observing that the cause of the second necessarily grew out of the event which produced the first ; and hope that this may be admitted as a necessary and sufficient plea in justification of the mode I adopted for payment of the arrearage of bounty to part of the men of my company.

The court have seen the specific account of the articles, and on estimate of the prices as I supposed they were to be charged to me, and as they were in fact delivered to the men.

I believe you can have no doubts but that I received the goods with an expectation of paying for them

agreeably to that estimate. It was a fortunate circumstance, however, that long before my bills were presented for payment I obtained a copy of the charges as entered in the factor's ledger. On making a further calculation, (for the entries were not as I expected,) I found a balance of twenty one cents and a fraction of a cent due the men, who had taken the articles mentioned in the bill produced to the court. I did immediately inform the men of this balance, and said it should be paid. On procuring their cap trimmings, some of them were informed that the amount of the balance of the bounty should go in offset to this charge, so far as it would cover it: but no settlement has been made with the company on this account. A considerable number of the men were paid cash which I borrowed, for the arrearage of their bounty. These had no balance due. I informed them that I had expectations of money being allowed for straw due them and that their trimmings should be deducted from this sum, if it should be allowed. Here it should be observed that the sum was estimated at the price stated in the bill, because it was to be returned. I think it appears from the testimony of sundry witnesses, that the same liquor, which stands charged to me in the entries, at one dollar and thirty four cents, was afterwards retailed to the soldiers of this garrison, for two dollars per gallon. Whether this is a speculation upon the soldiery of which the United States, or their factor, reap the benefit, or whether the accounts of the factory are rendered from the entries or from the actual sales, are questions which may form matter for future enquiry. The white thread has not been brought into the account, not being charged in the factor's book, although it appears from the testimony of the men that they did receive it.

This mode of payment was the best, and indeed the only one I could hit upon. The men were volunteers in accepting it, and, I believe, were perfectly satisfied before I reported a balance. Many

of them have been before the court, and all acknowledge their entire satisfaction, except Mr. Mickin, who imagines he did not receive his full quantity of some of the sargeants. He may have forgotten : he is capable of it.

Had I not paid the bounty I should undoubtedly have been involved ; perhaps not more seriously than I am from the steps I have taken to avoid it. If my object had been speculation, or profit, is it probable I would have informed my men of a balance when I knew them satisfied, and had no reason to expect that an enquiry would ever be had in the premises ? Instead of profit I have submitted to a loss of twelve dollars from the deficiencies of the contents of the cash which I borrowed. Of this I believe the court will be satisfied, and, after mature deliberation on the evidence adduced in this charge, will find my conduct justifiable.

I am charged 3dly, of " Selling public corn ; and allowing the public horses only two quarts per day."

The necessity of procuring this substitute for bread, the manner of its being brought to the garrison, on the backs of the men, in rainy weather, and the condition it was in, when stored, have been clearly shewed to the court. That it was in a perishable condition when I proposed to the Commandant this method of saving the property, is likewise demonstrated. Had I silently suffered it to spoil, and it had been concluded the property of the United States, I should have been subject to arrest and trial in the fifth article of the twelfth section of the rules and articles of war. This dilemma put me on projects to secure it. Shifting and sunning had little effect, and the probability was, that it would spoil on my hands. I therefore concluded that it would be prudence to dispose of as much of it as possible to the citizens in this vicinity, who were much distressed for bread. By the concession I made to the court of having sold public corn, it

should not be understood knowing it to be the property of the United States, nor without authority; thus I explained myself to the court the next day. I was at loss whether to consider myself accountable to the United States, or to an individual State, or whether in my official or private capacity. Thus I frequently expressed my doubts to gentlemen; and until the testimony of Capt. Randolph was heard, which produced certain papers from the late contractor's agent, William Johnson, I was induced to believe the corn the property of the State of Georgia. This, however, I know did not exonerate me from accountability, but embarrassed me in the mode of settlement; leaving me altogether uninformed whether to charge or credit the United States. Had my views been fraudulent or speculative, is it probable I would have consulted the Lieut. Col. Commandant on the subject? Or that I would have transacted the business through an acting quartermaster in an open and conspicuous manner? And had the Lieut. Col. Commandant not thought the measure economical, is it probable he would have sanctioned it by his approbation? Had my motive been individual interest, is it probable I could have borrowed corn on my own credit to replace the damaged corn disposed of, and to furnish the horses, entitled to forage, with corn of a better quality?

Only twenty five bushels were reported to me sold, until the commencement of this trial. For twenty one bushels of this I received two beeves, a cow and a two year old. These were sold to the contractor and issued to the troops. They neated twenty three or four dollars. This sum I received to pay for or replace the corn sold. For four bushels sold before the corn became materially damaged, I received six dollars; amounting in all to about thirty dollars. I have paid for nineteen bushels of corn borrowed at D.1 25 cents. Sixteen bushels of this have been issued to the public horses, and three to the paymaster's. On settling with Doctor Gillasspy

and the paymaster for a month's forage, six bushels appeared due them ; this deficiency I paid up at the same price. *My* account of profit on the sale of corn stands thus—25 bush. sold Dol. 30
25 do. replaced 31 25

The sales for which Ensign Thompson is accountable are six bushels ; and for this he will account on demand. The residue of the hundred bushels has been issued, some part to the troops, the rest to public horses.

I have always been solicitous to be instructed in a proper mode of settlement, and on all occasions have spoken openly on the facts. My conduct was authorized by proper authority ; and why this article should appear as a charge can only be solved into the forgetfulness of infirm old age. That I ever limited the public horses to any quantity short of four quarts is not true. I believe the court will justify my conduct in this affair.

I am charged 4thly, with "Disobedience of orders."

This alludes to the order of the Commandant of 24th of May last, relative to the exchange of certain men. I did not at that time charge myself with the police of the company ; but did, however, consult and advise with the commanding officer on the construction to be applied to the order, and concluded that the word *exchange* could not extend to the men who joined me by transfer. To this conclusion I was persuaded by an observation of the Commandant that he meant the men who came out with me from Philadelphia, should remain in my company, and his general direction that Captain Tinsley's company and mine should be kept full. This construction was also supported by the order of the tenth of June relative to the master of the troops.

Had we construed the order more extensively, and returned the men who had been transferred, should not I have been subject to arrest for having exceeded the literal construction of the order ?

A particular object in the order did not appear to me to be matter of inquiry. If there *were* a particular object, as has been insinuated, and my construction did not embrace that object, how easily might an explanation been given by another order or otherwise! Sure I am, the necessary correction would have been made; for the execution of the order was left to a gentleman whose promptitude in duty has never been questioned. Mr. M'Call has informed the court that the order was obeyed on its literal construction. I declare I never heard any uneasiness on the subject until it discovered itself in the shape before you.

If the court should find any other construction in the term *exchanged* than what we applied, I hope they will nevertheless do me the justice to believe that the one given was such as my own undersanding suggested, and this by the consultation of the officers of my company; and will acquit me.

I am charged 5thly, of "Liberating from confinement Corporal Billings, who was charged by a jury of inquest with having been the death of Joshua Haverlones, a private in Captain Dickinson's company, from the violence of the blows he had inflicted on him; and tearing to pieces the charge in a disrespectful contemptuous manner.

Corporal Billings has not been a moment released from confinement since the evening on which the cause originated. He remained confined on a charge given by a commissioned officer, until the mittimus of the civil magistrate was put into my hands, and his permission obtained for the removal of the prisoner. Thus stands the evidence. In justification of the removal, I have produced to the court the testimony of the magistrate, as also his written certificate, in demonstration of the orders he gave me. The causes of the removal were these. The alarm which possessed the prisoner, in consequence of the mode of his confinement and the imprudent observations which obtained, that he would undoubtedly be

convicted of murder, it was feared would have a tendency to alarm him into desertion.

I believed no alacrity of the guards would secure him, provided he should resolve on an escape. Frequent escapes had happened before, and one since. My fears were not less founded on those circumstances than the known persevering disposition of the prisoner. I supposed that some sort of assurance that his crime could not be found capital, would mitigate his alarm, and that moving him into my kitchen, under the care of two sentinels, where was his wife and infant child would be an act not less humane than prudent, as it might reconcile him to his confinement, and secure him to justice. The place of his confinement was equally if not more secure in its rear than the guard house ; and I believed two sentries a sufficient guard. Had I taken these steps at my own discretion, my conduct would have been justifiable by law. Billings was not the prisoner of the United States, but of the state of Georgia. This appears from the mittimus. Notwithstanding he was at first confined by the charge of a military officer, the mittimus of the civil magistrate superceded that charge. The prisoner being then committed to me, as commanding officer of the garrison, should be confined at my discretion. Had my exertions to secure him proved remissly ineffectual, then should I have been amenable to civil law. These are my ideas on this subject, and they are founded in law. But I have shown to the court that I have proceeded in this affair agreeably to the instruction of the civil magistrate who committed the prisoner ; and the event has proved that our determination on the mode of confinement was proper. The prisoner did not escape : but was transferred to the guard house on demand. Where then is the injury, where the necessity of this mighty clamor ?

As to matter of contempt in tearing to pieces the original charge, mentioned as an article in this charge, I do not feel that it deserves a comment.

I am charged 6thly, of "Unjustly defrauding the troops under my command out of rations which were due them, and storing them in the garrison store, which have never been accounted for to the men."

I have conceded that nearly one thousand rations of flour, an arrearage due the troops, were deposited in the public store, and held as a check upon a demand which the contractor had and was determined to prosecute, for the same quantity of damaged and condemned flour destroyed by the troops. This concession appears from the evidence a just statement of facts. A moment's explanation might have satisfied a mind disposed to be satisfied: but this transaction afforded plausible matter of charge, and it has been improved! Exertions have been made to substantiate it by introducing a species of evidence unprecedented, singular and mysterious. A note, something in the form of a duebill, for somewhere about two thousand rations, signed by a third person, without the knowledge of myself, has, by the informer, been introduced to this court as a bulwork of proof against which it was expected even truth itself could not prevail! This note smells rank of assassination! How was it obtained? Clandestinely, and by finesse! Of whom? Not of me; but of an unsuspecting serjeant! For what use? Not to recover a *real* due for the soldier; but to create an *imaginary* one to criminate an officer! Was it ever presented me? No; not till the confidential person with whom it was deposited, was struck with conviction of the perfidy of its object! How then was it presented? Secretly; and with a proposition that I would contaminate my fingers by destroying it! Was this an artful attempt upon the impetuosity which it would naturally excite in my mind; or an individual wish that the advantages contemplated to be acquired by the note might be defeated? This remains to me an enigma! But the note was destroyed! By whom? Not by me; but by the person who obtained it, and contrary to my direction! Another

note in all things like unto the first has appeared before this court! What has it produced in evidence? Art and subtlety in its projects; stupidity in its author; and in its countenance the deepest hue of iniquity! These are strictures which naturally arise out of this subject. But notwithstanding this formidable appearance; this monster of illegitimate conception; simple facts have demonstrated that my concession went to the extent of every thing which existed relative to this charge; and further, that my conduct has not been fraudulent, but equitable.

The condemned flour was used by the troops indiscriminately at the time the rations of flour in question were becoming due. This was done by my advice: but I could not suppose any credit was due the contractor for such sort of provision. On his arrival, however, he made demand of payment for the condemned flour thus made use of by my direction; insisting that condemning it did not transfer to me a right of destroying it, nor of suffering it to be destroyed; and declaring that he would recover it of me, either by abstract, or by an action of trespass. The former I refused and he determined on the latter. I had doubts in my own mind whether he could recover against me. The troops were at that time well supplied; and I concluded that to retain the flour in public store, which had become due the troops during the time of their using the condemned flour, till the question at issue should be determined, or till the contractor should relinquish his idea of bringing his action, would be just and proper; and that then the issues should be made without respect to the destruction of the condemned flour.

These facts have been unequivocally ascertained. Does this look like fraud? Does it not favor more the complexion of uprightness? If the contractor has sustained a loss for which damages are recoverable by law, who should be amenable for those damages but the persons who committed the waste, and had the benefit of it? Had I appropriated the flour thus

retained and stored, to my own use, or any part of it, then might this charge be supported: But if from the moment of its having been stored it has remained as disputed property, how evident must it be to every unbiassed mind that the question of right alone held me in suspense respecting its issues? If I had issued it till this question was determined, how clearly would an action and a charge lie against me for trespassing on the property of the contractor and where would have been my remedy? Thus, act as I would, on either side was I liable to embarrassment by arrest both civil and military; and undoubtedly the patriotic zeal of the day would not have passed the opportunity.

But were this transaction viewed in its worst light, still fraud cannot be made out of it. The term implies a deceitfully obtaining, and wrongfully applying to ones own use, goods which are the property of another. Has here been any deceit? Has here been any wrongful application. On the contrary, has not the business been openly conducted? Have not I always declared facts as they now appear on your proceedings? And has not the property been as carefully preserved as possible. It must be a strange perversion or rather distortion of terms to stamp the epithet either of injustice or fraud upon the transaction out of which this charge has arisen. I am confident the court will be convinced of this, and that however plausible the pretence for this charge may be, I am not *in fact* chargeable with the most distant intention, in this transaction, of wronging an individual, nor the public, but on the contrary, so far as possible, disposed to do justice to both.

Having gone through with my observations on the proceedings, I beg the court will indulge me in a few remarks, which naturally arise from the prosecution, and the circumstances which may have produced it.

What influence upon superior rank the circumstance of my having a particular destination from

the Secretary of War may have, I leave to the determination of the more particular acquaintances of the disposition of a man in an elevated station. If this circumstance has had influence, other circumstances have afforded auxiliaries to the measures which were influenced by this.

On my arrival at St. Mary's, among the troops of Virginia, I found many sick : these had no medical assistance. On board of our brig sailed the Surgeon's mate. He recommended to take these sick on board of us. I accordingly ordered them on board. This obliged my noncommissioned officers to resign their births between decks to the sick. The evening of the first of January commenced an incessant rain. At ten at night I went on deck and saw my noncommissioned officers rolled in their blankets and drenched in rain. By consent of the sailing master I ordered them into the cabin to take births upon boxes, chests and a table. Humanity dictated this step. The day and night following the storm continued. I again took them into the cabin. This gave umbrage to the factor of the Indian trade, Mr. Price, who had all the passage occupied as a stateroom, and had slept there the preceding evening. About daybreak, the next morning, moving out of his stateroom and addressing his assistant and a blacksmith, who occupied births in the cabin, he made some unmannerly and illnatured strictures upon this arrangement of mine ; supposing I was asleep. I undeceived him ; and attempted to argue him into conciliation, pleading the humanity of the measure, and observing that if any gentlemen had reason to complain, they were Capt. Nicoll and Doct. Gillasspy, who slept in the cabin, and not himself, who was not incommoded in his lodgings ; that the noncommissioned officers were down after he was in bed, and out before he was up ; and hoped that the sight of a soldier's blanket did not offend him.

He offended me ! I resented it. Explanation was had and the affair buried as I supposed, in oblivion : but from that moment I have experienced from that quarter a persecution of resentment which, and in manner which a man of a liberal mind and open countenance would be ashamed of. These charges of my arrests were fangled in his counting room, in his own hand's writing, as they were accidentally discovered and reported to me the morning after the secret dispatches went off with them. I believe I may charge that Iago of Othello as the prolific nurse of all the mischief which has been designed against me.

At St. Mary's, Captain Tinsley, or Ensign Allinson, shewed me an appointment of Adjutant which the Captain had made the Ensign, which I think I said should be respected so far as my influence would obtain, observing at the same time that the appointment of the regimental staff did not rest with platoon officers. The order of the secretary of war required that the eldest subaltern should be left at St. Mary's. Rank determined this command to Ensign Allinson. Soon after my arrival here I ordered a junior Ensign to do the temporary duty of Adjutant. When Colonel Gaither arrived, I submitted to him every arrangement I had made or contemplated : and at the same time mentioned the appointment first alluded to, and recommended the subaltern last alluded to for the appointment of quartermaster. But I received for answer, that " no appointments would be made to those offices." And the first order for muster, 10th June, coincided with that answer. Consequently things remained as they were. But Ensign Allinson appeared dissatisfied, and continued so. How far this disappointment might have influenced the feelings of this informer may be conjectured. From these and other causes which may be traced I have long since discovered a disposition in this tripple alliance to embarrass me. And from the proceedings before you, gentlemen, you will be able to discover whether my suspicions have been well or illy founded, wheth-

er this prosecution has for its basis truth or spleen, and whether it was born of patriotism or a less honorable parent.

With what face can my prosecutor accuse me of a paltry half cent speculation, who, on my arrival into this state would readily have taken from me thirty five thousand dollars for lands, the titles of which he knew were in dispute, and believed invalid ; having been obtained by fraud and corruption ? Had I at that moment closed a bargain, and obtained credit for a moiety of that sum, I have good reason to believe I should at this moment be caressed. But unfortunately for my peace, I ridiculed the dream of the speculation, and reprobated the Yazoo grants. Here sprung up a new source of resentment : and this was irritated by my remonstrating on the impropriety of being obliged to govern myself by verbal orders, which I found, were as conveniently forgotten as given. To this remonstrance I was lead by a conviction of the treachery of human memory : but this was *treason*. If I consulted with gentlemen on the embarrassment of this mode of discipline it was *scandalum magnatum*. For obedience of verbal orders, twice have I been indirectly reprimanded : and once for the same crime, an article is added in the charges of my arrest—(Witness the third charge.) I have long since discovered how persuaded this man, high in rank, has been that my reputation and future happiness should be sacrificed on the alter of partiality.

Because I have not winked as he winked and smiled when he smiled, acquiesced in the slander which most men suffer from his splenetic disposition, and stooped like a slave when he condescended to lash me, he has been convinced that this sacrifice, so trifling to a man of my rank, was a necessary one to his humor. Can I be silent on this subject ? Can the respect I feel for the presence of this court : shall a tame submission to the caprice of weakness and despotism confine my injuries to the obsequious remedy of supplication ! " I have not slavish tem-

perance enough to attend a favorite's heels and catch his smiles ; bear an ill office done me to my face, and thank the lord, who wrongs me, for his favor."

I reverence virtue, and respectability ; but that accidental consequence which blind fortune attaches to the opposite of these qualities, obtains nothing of me but what to rank will not be refused.

The perverted construction which has been put on all my measures, and repeated inattention to my repeated request of a more humane, yet as proper mode of investigating the facts, prove the vindictive temper of this prosecution, and a prepense intention to assassinate my reputation.

How often has the ground been shifted, and new positions taken since the siege has been laid against my character ! How silently have parallels been drawn and evacuated ! Spies have been sent into my company, and even into my family, to discover, if possible a vulnerable part ! Citizens have been called from their beds, at the dead hour of night, to ascertain facts, which were transacted in the center of the area of the fort, by consultation of the officers of the garrison, and order of my prosecutor ! And I am not yet satisfied that an instrument has not been employed to sap my firmness by an artful attempt upon the excitability of my temper—(Witness the presentment of the note before mentioned.) Yet, instead of a choice of crimes, as the boast has gone out, what deliberate anxiety has been discovered to get hold of any thing which could be distorted into a misprison of criminality. Even my misfortunes have been called up and passed in review with a motive, not of commiseration, but to spy out of them some ambiguity, which could be metamorphosed into crimes. If the salvation of a country depended on my fall *there* might be found an apology for this singular prosecution, but if private animosity is only to be gratified, the means which have been used, and perseverance observed should take another name than that of *merit*.

Wild must have been the infatuation of the mind to have prevailed on itself to endeavor to distil speculation out of measures which the man himself had recommended, and fraud from an economy which was due to the public and to justice. Who cannot discover, even with but one eye, that other motives than public measures must have actuated this proceeding! And who does not blush at the ridiculous veil of hypocrisy under which this malevolence is masked! *It is envy in the shape of conscience!* It is however *possible* that misrepresentation has done all this. Whatever may have been the moving cause, I feel that I have suffered. All the poison of my life magnified by a jealous and creative imagination has been scattered before the winds to blast my honor. Had my herald been delighted as much with good as with evil extracts, he could here and there, from my memoirs, have gathered a little of the dews of benevolence and humanity to perfume the breath of slander: but it is the spider's peculiar quality to extract poison from the same flower from which the bee will gather honey.

When a man only lies under the *imputation* of malconduct, the secret satisfaction which mankind feel in the misfortunes of their fellow men, induces a kind of instinctive credit to the calumny; and common fame is always ready to give it currency. With such as are inclined to *relish* evil reports, and such there are, slight presumption will be admitted as positive evidence, and every evil thing will be believed. "The grossest sophistry will pass upon men's understandings when used in support of measures to which they are already inclined." And good men credit evil reports from a consciousness of the frailty of human nature. Hence, when slander once drops from the invenomed tongue, it more or less obtains credit of all men; and the reluctance which all men feel at the *imputation* of guilt, prompt them to shun the suffering character through fear of

being suspected accomplices in his crimes. Hence an insulted character suffers every inconvenience from the secret whisper of malevolence, which it can from positive conviction : all the infamy which attaches itself to crimes already consumes his honor ; and conviction can add nothing to the sufferings of the *man*, but the pain or the disgrace of punishment. Hence the innocent are as liable to suffer as the guilty ; and hence the dumb significance of a muscle, has frequently the address to blast a reputation. When hatred combines with propensity to distress a character, and power is called in to aid the assault, it imbitters the venom of calumny with the gall of persecution. This I most solemnly feel. What but foetified invidiousness, which could be satiated only by my ruin, could figure to itself, even in imagination, the possibility of my having wronged a soldier ? In all this tedious process, not a single soul has been produced who has even felt dissatisfied with *me :* nor who would consent that the idea should be recorded. Yet has it been industriously blazoned that I have stooped to injure my soldiers. Is there a soldier in existence, and has served with me, who can be made to say this ! Did ever a sick, or an hungry, or a distressed soldier represent to me his wants and go away unrelieved ? Not a living soldier can say this : and the dead, if they could declare for me, would testify that my disinterested acts of benevolence have always been commensurate with their lives. Is there a man in existence, and is my acquaintance, who can say that a single act of all my actions has been stamped with parsimony ? Or who will not rather say that the other extreme has been an error of my life ? My kitchen has always been an hospital and an inn for the sick and the distressed soldier, and my quarters a caravansary for the stranger. With the utmost truth I can declare, that from almost eight years service in a military capacity, nearly five of which I have received the pay and

emolument of Captain, with the additional emolument some part of the time of Brigade Major, I have not saved a single guinea. Yet have I not lived profusely, nor indulged intemperance.

Then it cannot be from an overgrown fortune that I am charged with speculation and fraud! not from extravigance of living; and not from the complaints of injured individuals! What then can it be from? An invidious wish that it were so! For the justice of this conclusion, gentlemen, I refer you to the proceedings before you.

The bias which uncontradicted report must have given this court at the commencement of the trial, would have alarmed me, were I not persuaded that with every member which compose it, prepossession would give place to facts. It is the province of truth, when drawn from her recess, to unmask deception and falshood, and to compose to their natural form, the features which jealousy, envy, or a spleeny imagination had distorted into deformity.

But gentlemen, I am grewing prolix, and you impatient. I know you will recollect that you sit here to determine in law and equity, between the United States and myself on charges in the decision of which my reputation, my future happiness, and that of my family cannot but be involved. I feel that if the most imbittered construction should be applied to my conduct as shewn to you from the evidence, it would require the eye of casuistry to extract criminality from it.

I trust and firmly believe that your decision will be unbiassed and impartial: that compliment to individual opinion, character or caprice will have no influence in your deliberation: and that from the test of truth, you will be able to determine that *economy* and not *speculation*, that *humanity* and not *contempt of law nor etiquette*, and that *justice* and not *fraud* have dictated to that conduct which has been stamped with the impression of criminality.

With confidence I rest my cause in the integrity of this court.

WM. EATON, *Captain of Infantry.*

On the seventh instant the proceedings of the court were forwarded to the Commandant at St. Mary's. I was there on the trial of Billings, and was informed by a gentleman of the bar, that the Commandant, disgusted with the decision, had determined to forward the proceedings to his excellency the President, without acting upon them. In coroboration of this information, this day Major Freeman received an order for the dissolution of the court, but nothing of the decision. For this piece of accidental justice I would thank him, had he not in doing it laid a necessity of prolonging my confinement within the walls of a fort. I did not believe he would dare show those proceedings where he ever wished to show his face. Every thing is studiously arranged with design to counteract my felicity. It is in vain to plead that duty or public good requires this treatment. The former requires not the aid of falshood in its execution, and the latter seldom acknowledges itself in debt to meanness and oppression. But I am not the only officer who suffers under this lash of tyranny. His humor is the standard by which his esteem or hatred is measured : and his power deals out to the favorites the natural partialities. Nor does he seem satisfied to confine his influence to individual character. I wish I were not compelled to believe that his misrepresentation has prevented that good understanding which might otherwise have been restored to the United States and Georgia. What man in his senses could imagine that General Jackson, who sailed on board a sloop to the treaty, with few more then twenty volunteer infantry, under the command of a subaltern, contemplated to assume the command at this post? Every one who knows the General must be satisfied that he

has better informed military ideas than to attempt this. Yet the Commandant had the address, by positive declaration, to impress the commissioners of the United States with this idea. The consequences have been detailed in public print: the dernier event is to be feared! But a private pique of long standing was gratified. These things, though they take the prostituted name of federalism, to me appear vastly uncandid. The liberties I am taking may perhaps be considered unwarrantable. Indeed I know, an officer here must confine his ideas, like his person, within the stockades of his post, and shall have leave to think through the organ of a Commandant, provided his ideas keep the channel of his views. I am not made of such stuff: and have never yet been reduced to feel that the livery of a soldier should smother the light of understanding, or manacle the pinions of reason. If these liberties then should be construed into disrespect, I shall charge the misdemeanor to maxims to which I have always adhered, that *rank* has no just claims beyond the boundary lines of duty; that respect is a voluntary attachment to merit, and that no consideration should prevail on a man to veil the face of truth in obsequiousness to any man's humor or interest. If, still sore from the sting of envy, I have dipped my pen in acrimony, I trust the abuse I have suffered will sufficiently apologise for me. If my complaint merits a hearing, redress will undoubtedly naturally follow. But if my persecutors should have the address to blast me at this period of life, I shall feel the sad reconciliation that I shall have fallen an early martyr to the dictates of truth, duty, and humanity.

It has been confidentially said between the two gentlemen most interested in my reports, and overheard; "We must get that *Eaton* out of the way!" I truly stand almost alone; but feel myself nevertheless steadfast. The recruit, an Ensign Allinson who has been employed as an instrument, to effect

the project, has generously been offered five hundred acres of land at this post as a pledge of the trust and confidence reposed in him. Plans have been well concerted, confidence and secresy have been *sacredly* adhered to, and no exertions have been wanting to excite the *patriotic* project. But yet I stand, and believe I shall, till my enemies are confounded, and the public shall blush at the depravity of principles which have moved my misfortunes. I am not indeed tenacious of holding my commission on a peace establishment, and should before this have requested to be placed on the list of derangments; but to retire from service at this crisis would bear an unfavorable construction. My only anxiety is to leave service like a soldier. As such I trust I have served, and am at all times ready to serve, should my country demand my service. But let not speculation and malice prevail to blast a life and family devoted to the calls of duty and human happiness.

Sincerely do I beg pardon for this intrusion: but, my honored Sir, to whom else shall I address my aggrievance? If your confidence in me has been misplaced, it cannot, I think, but affect your feelings. And if falshood and cruelty should have the influence to place it in that light, the consequence will be the same. I am in possession of some facts, interesting to the public, which I shall bring forward in the *proper channel* when digested, and when my embarrassments shall be removed. These shall show who are *patrons of speculation* on the public, and who are embarked on the bottom of truth, who of misrepresentation.

I have to request that my command, which has been wantonly and violently wrested from me, may be restored. My honor is pledged that my eye shall be fixed on the public measures without respect to the feelings of individuals. And when facts are ascertained and the veil removed from the public eye, that justice may be established, I shall then ask leave

to retire from a service in which an honest man can acquire no other scars than from the shafts of those dark and deadly assassins, envy and selfishness.

With profound respect,
I have the honor to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient, and very humble servant,
WILLIAM EATON, *Capt. of Infantry.*

The Honorable
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary for the department of state,
Philadelphia.

For some specification of one of these charges EATON was sentenced to two months suspension from command. That it was of no very criminal nature, appears from the following extracts of letters written by Ensign Thompson, one of the court martial.

" Our Col. Commandant, who is an ignorant, debauched, unprincipled old batchelor, appears willing to sacrifice the purest character to gratify the spleen of his soul.

He has long since been collecting materials to effect the destruction of Captain Dickinson, a man worthy of esteem, and who wears more scars of patriotism, acquired in the struggle for American liberty, than perhaps any other man in the United States. I was a member of the court martial which tried Captain Dickinson. At this court the Colonel's want of knowledge, and want of truth, made him lose my esteem; and in my opinion, forfeited his title to it, from every honest man.

His next object was Capt. EATON, against whom the Colonel's jealousy and envy were awakened, from the circumstance of the Capt's having particu-

lar command at Colerain, where the trading post should be.

Captain Eaton's punctuality likewise, in giving information of the situation of this frontier, was another source of bitterness; as heretofore, there had seldom been any reports of the kind, not clothed with partiality.

This, Col. Gaither might naturally enough imagine, might amount to a reflection on him.

This must have been his idea: for he commanded Capt. Eaton *to make no reports*, although the Secretary of War had given instruction that he should. From a number of reasons, it was supposed by the Col. and his confederates, that his sacrifice was necessary to their reputation: for the party have been heard to say, "*We must get rid of this Eaton.*"

Captain Eaton was arrested, notwithstanding he had twice made a written demand for a court of enquiry, and once verbally. This was his legal right, and this would have saved much trouble; as it would have convinced every unprejudiced mind, that the circulation of the reports had no foundation; and shown that they were raised only from a wish that there were cause of criminality.

Enquiry was not to be had. The court martial consisted of five members; one Major who was his inveterate enemy, as he is to every plain dealer; two Captains, one of whom was aspiring to his command; the other, though in general looked upon as an honest man, yet knows nothing of law and the nature of evidence, and might perhaps, be as deep in the party, as the prosecutor. All were inferior in rank to Capt. Eaton, except the President. Ensign M'Call was the only person who appeared to me unprejudiced. I was a member of the court myself; and although my oath restricts my mentioning the opinion of any particular member, as to the decision, yet it is not a violation to say that there was the most ostensible partiality; and that more anxiety and exertion were discovered to give propriety,

duty, and honesty, the colorings of their opposites, than that truth should have its influence.

The trial was tedious. Upwards of a fortnight we were upon it : and after all was said ; after all that had been collecting for about five months, by the scrutiny of surrounding enemies, and by spies which had been sent into his company and family ; to what did it amount ? It amounted to—what I am not at liberty to say, being a member of the court, and as the sentence is not yet approved of by the Col. Commandant."

It appears also from the petition of John F. Randolph, and twenty nine others, heads of families living in the vicinity of Colerain, addressed to the War Department, that Capt. EATON had given great satisfaction to the neighborhood, by restraining his soldiers from plunder : as the petitioners, after his removal, complain of the atrocious conduct of the soldiery, and the acquiescence of the officers, and pray that EATON may be restored to command.

The proceedings of the court martial were sent to Gaither, whose duty it was to decide upon them. As his object was not attained, instead of deciding upon the sentence, he ordered EATON to be confined within the walls of Fort Pickering, where he was immured upwards of a month ; and sent the proceedings of the court martial to the Secretary at War : and ordered EATON to the seat of government, after this long confinement.

On arriving at Philadelphia, in December, Capt. EATON presented himself to the Secretary at War, desiring to know what standing he then had. The Secretary informed him that the sentence was not confirmed ; and that his standing was not changed.

In January, 1797, EATON returned to Brimfield, where he continued till the ensuing summer, when he repaired to Philadelphia, in consequence of general marching orders.

In July, he was charged with a confidential commission from the Secretary of state, to execute the

orders which should be issued by a committee of Congress sitting to procure information relative to the conspiracy of William Blount; and received orders and a warrant to repair to New York, and arrest Doctor Nicholas Romayne and his papers. This duty was immediately performed. EATON left Philadelphia on the morning of the 10th July, and secured Romayne and his papers, before 3 o'clock the next morning, and brought him to Philadelphia at 2 o'clock P. M. on the 12th.

On his return to Philadelphia, he was appointed CONSUL to the city and kingdom of *Tunis*.

During the same month he was charged with dispatches for Mr. Gerry, then in Cambridge, who was about to sail for France; which were delivered according to their address.

The autumn EATON spent in Brimfield; and the winter in a journey to the Ohio; whence he returned to Brimfield in March, 1798; where he continued the greater part of his time till Nov. 12th, when, on receiving information from the Secretary of state that the vessels destined to Algiers were ready to depart, he took leave of his family, and, on the 18th, arrived at Philadelphia.

On the 22d of December, Mr. EATON took leave of the Secretary of state, Mr. Pickering, and went on board the U. S. brig Sophia, Capt. Henry Geddes, commander, bound to Algiers; in company with the Hero, a ship of 350 tons burden, loaded with naval stores for the Dey of Algiers; the Hassan Bashaw, an armed brig of 275 tons, mounting eight six pounders, destined to Algiers; the Skjoldabrand, a schooner of 250 tons, 16 double fortified four pounders, destined to Algiers; and the Le la Eisha, of 150 tons, 14 four pounders, also destined to Algiers. All these vessels excepting the Sophia, were to be delivered to the Dey of Algiers, for arrearages of stipulation and present dues.

James Leander Cathcart, appointed Consul at Tripoli, and his Lady, took passage in the Sophia with Mr. EATON.

In the month of August, 1797, Joseph Etienne Famin, a French merchant residing at Tunis, agent for the United States there, formed a treaty with the regency of Tunis. This treaty was discussed by the Senate of the United States, in the month of March, 1798, and ratified, with the exception of the 14th article, which was in these words.

"The Citizens of the United States of America, who shall transport into the kingdom of Tunis the merchandize of their country in the vessels of their nation, shall pay three per cent duty. Such as may be laden by such citizens under a foreign flag coming from the United States or elsewhere, shall pay ten per cent duty. Such as may be laden by foreigners on board of American vessels coming from any place whatever, shall also pay ten per cent duty. If any Tunisian merchant wishes to carry merchandize of his country, under any flag whatever, into the United States of America, and on his own account, he shall pay three per cent duty."

It is somewhat surprising that this Mr. Famin, a Frenchman, should have been authorized to make this treaty, at a time when France and the United States had assumed a hostile attitude. His being recommended by Mr. Barlow may however assist in the solution of such an impropriety. If Famin was ignorant of the revenue laws of the United States, he was unfit to negotiate a treaty ; if not ignorant, the 14th article discovers a gross violation of duty and propriety. The first object demanding the attention of the two Consuls, EATON and Cathcart, in conjunction with O'Brien, Consul at Algiers, and then there, was an alteration of the 14th article of this treaty : the three Consuls, or any two of them, being authorised to make the adjustment.

It was suspected by the government of the U. S. that the latter part of the 14th article might have been

inserted by Famin with an expectation of deriving for himself great commercial advantages by opening a direct trade from Tunis to this country: or that the Bey and his chiefs, either aware of the effects of the article, or being imformed by Famin, might contrive it as the instrument of obtaining a new sacrifice to their avarice; expecting it would not be ratified by the United States; and that the United States, in order to get it expunged, would offer the Bey an additional sum of money. But, whatever might have been the motive, the article was inadmissible; and the consuls were instructed to alter it, so as to place the commerce of the United States with Tunis, and that of Tunis with the United States, on the footing of the commerce of the most favored nation for the time being; or to insist on its rejection, even though immediate war should be the consequence.

Objection was also made by the Senate to some other parts of the treaty; especially the provision that a barrel of gunpowder should be paid the Tunisian government, for the firing of every gun of a Tunisian fort, saluting American armed vessels entering their harbors, ; the number of guns for a salute being left to the pleasure of those saluting.

The following is Mr. Eaton's Letter of Credence.

JOHN ADAMS,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA.

TO the most Illustrious and most Magnificent Prince, the BEY, *who commands the Odgiac of Tunis, the abode of happiness, and the most honored* IBRAHIM DEY, *and* SOLIMAN, *Aga of the Janisaries, and Chief of the Divan and all the Elders of the Odgiac.*

ILLUSTRIOUS AND HONORED FRIENDS.

SOME difficulties occurring in the terms of the treaty of peace and friendship concluded between the United States and you, and being desirous of removing the same in the most proper manner, I have appointed and given full power to our respected citizens, RICHARD O'BRIEN, Esquire, WILLIAM EATON, Esquire, and JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, Esquire, to negotiate with you for the removal of those difficulties. I therefore request you to receive the said RICHARD O'BRIEN, WILLIAM EATON and JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, or such of them as shall be at Tunis and present you this letter, and to hear and believe the explanations of those difficulties which they are directed to lay before you ; and whereupon

they have authority to arrange with you the terms of the treaty, in a manner compatible with the interest and honor of the two nations, by which peace may be continued, commerce established, and the greatest advantages enjoyed on both sides.

And may the Infinite God direct our hearts to that which is right.

ILLUSTRIOUS AND HONORED FRIENDS.

I have appointed the said WILLIAN EATON, Esquire, to be Consul of the United States, for the city and kingdom of Tunis, to reside at Tunis, to watch over the interests of the United States and their citizens. Wherefore, I request you to receive him as their Consul, to cause him to be duly respected, and to give full credence to what he shall say to you, on behalf of the United States, more especially when he shall assure you of their friendship and good will.

Given under my hand and the great Seal of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, the twenty first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, and the Independence of the United States the twenty third.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President, TIMOTHY PICKERING.

On the 9th of February, the Sophia arrived in the bay of Algiers, after a passage of thirty six days from the capes of Delaware. EATON and CATHCART waited on O'Brien, Consul General of the United States for the Barbary coast, and continued with him till the 2d of March. On the 18th of February the armed vessels stipulated to be given the Dey of Algiers, were delivered to the Regency. On the 22nd, EATON and CATHCART were introduced to the palace. The introduction is thus described by EATON.

"*Feb. 22, Friday, 12 o'clock, M. admitted to an audience with the Dey.*

Consuls O'Brien, Cathcart and myself, Captains Geddes, Smith, Penrose, Maley, proceeded from the American house to the court yard of the palace, uncovered our heads, entered the area of the hall, ascended a winding maze of five flights of stairs, to a narrow, dark entry, leading to a contracted apartment of about 12 by eight feet, the private audience room. Here we took off our shoes; and, entering the cave, (for so it seemed) with small apertures of light with iron grates, we were shown to a huge, shaggy beast, sitting on his rump, upon a low bench, covered with a cushion of embroidered velvet, with his hind legs gathered up like a taylor, or a bear. On our approach to him, he reached out his fore paw as if to receive something to eat. Our guide exclaimed, "Kiss the Dey's hand!" The consul general bowed *very elegantly*, and kissed it; and we followed his example in succession. The animal seemed at that moment to be in a harmless mode: he grinned several times; but made very little noise. Having performed this ceremony, and standing a few moments in silent agony, we had leave to take our shoes and other property, and leave the den, without any other injury than the humility of being obliged, in this involuntary manner, to violate the second commandment of God, and offend common decency.

Can any man believe that this elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two republics, and a continent, tributary to him, when his whole naval force is not equal to two line of battle ships? It is so!"

Mr. EATON's reception at Tunis, and the progress made in adjusting the treaty, cannot better be explained than by himself, in his first communication from Tunis, to the Secretary of State. The extracts from this letter will also give the reader some idea of the mode of conducting diplomatic concerns on the coast of Barbary.

Tunis, 26th March, 1799.

SIR,

THE following extract from my journal, being compared and corresponding with Mr. Cathcart's, will receive his signature, and be forwarded by Capt. Geddes; and will detail our progress from the moment of leaving Algiers till the finishing of our negociation.

March 2d. Sailed from Algiers for Tunis.

8th. Forced by contrary winds into the bay of Byserte. Went on shore; and at 2 P. M. dispatched a courier by land, with the following letter to Signor Azulai, a Hebrew merchant at Tunis.

"The underwritten envoys, commissioned by the government of the United States of America, to negociate and fix on certain alterations in the Treaty of peace between the Bey of Tunis and said States, on board the American brigantine, Sophia, now riding at anchor in the bay of Biserte, avail themselves of an opportunity of a Courier by land to apprize Signor Solomon Azulai, that, by the first fair wind, they will proceed to Tunis, to enter upon the negociation, and to desire him to provide, with economy, a convenient house, with suitable furniture for their reception.

They have letters of importance from the house of Bocri and Busnah in Algiers for Signor Azulai: but till an opportunity presents of delivering them with

their own hand, they desire that the purport of this note may be kept a profound secret.

Please to accept, &c.

W. EATON,
J. L. CATHCART.

This letter, translated into Italian, with its original, was forwarded by a Moor, whom we employed for the purpose.

A heavy wind blowing into the mole, and a strong current setting out, occasioned such a surf that we found it impossible to reembark ; and we were very hospitably invited to take accommodation in a Christian house, Stephen Decoster, an Italian, who was acting vice consul for the Emperor, Holland and Ragusa. In this house was a Secretary of Mr. Famin, who suspected our character, and communicated his suspicions to him.

March 10*th*. By the assistance of the Captain of the port, with a launch, we got on board our brig. In this place we experienced much hospitality, but paid dear for it in cash.

11*th*. At night anchored off cape Carthagena.

12*th*. Half past two o'clock, afternoon, came to anchor in the Bay of Tunis. Proceeded with the Commandant in the boat to the Goulette : Exhibited to the Aga of the marine the ship's papers, and received his assurance that proper information should be sent to the Bey ; and that tomorrow at eleven in the morning a flag would be hoisted as a signal for our proceeding to Tunis.

14*th*. Eight in the morning a renegade from the palace came on board with the Bey's permission to us to go on shore. We immediately proceeded in the barge to the city, where we arrived at half past two, P. M. No house being provided, we went to M. Famin's. He received us with marks of suitable respect, and offered us every service in his power.

The flags of the different European nations at peace with this regency, were hoisted, on our arrival, upon the consular houses ; and this afternoon was consumed in the formality of receiving visits.

Major Magre, the English Consul, spent the evening with us. He cautioned me against any confidence in M. Famin : said he was a dangerous man ; and added that my situation was peculiarly critical here ; that snares were set for me on many sides, and that the utmost vigilance might not save me from falling into some of them. Advised us to move with caution but firmness in the business of our negociation ; and said the Bey was a man of acute discernment, and generally of fair dealing ; but that he was vain and avaricious.

15th. Eight in the morning, M. Famin conducted us to the palace, and introduced us to the Bey. After delivering our letters of credence and full powers, passing the ceremony of kissing his hand, sitting a few minutes and taking coffee ; he began to interrogate us.

" Is your vessel a vessel of war ?"

' Yes.'

" Why was I not duly informed of it, that you might have been saluted, as is customary."

' We were unacquainted with the customs'. (True cause, we did not choose to demand a salute which would cost the United States eight hundred dollars.)

" Had not you an agent here who could have informed you ; and have not I ministers who could have introduced your concerns to me, without the agency of a *Jew* ?"

' True we had an agent here, but we were uninformed of the mode of making communications.' (The fact is, we had been advised at Algiers, not to employ M. Famin, and had made our arrangements accordingly.)

" It is now more than a year since I expected the regalia of maritime and military stores, stipulated by

treaty : what impedes the fulfilment of the stipulation ?"

' The treaty was received by our government about eight months ago : a malady then raged in our capital, which forced not only the citizens, but all the departments of the government. to fly into the interior villages of the country. About the time the plague ceased to rage, and permitted the return of the government, the winter shut up our harbors with ice. We are also engaged in a war with France ; and all our extraordinary means are turned into the channel of defence against the depredations of that rapacious nation. Besides, when the treaty was laid before the government for ratification, it was found exceptionable. We are come forward empowered to agree on the necessary alterations. When these shall be effectuated, the Government of the United States will cause every exertion to be made for the fulfilment of the obligation on their part.'—We pointed out the articles and amendments ; and assured the Bey that, when these should be agreed to, we were authorized as a proof of the good faith of our government, and of the sincerity of their desire to cultivate friendship, to stipulate for the payment of an equivalent in cash'.

" I am not a pauper," said he ; " I have cash to spare. The stores are at this moment more than ever peculiarly necessary in consequence of the war with France. You have found no difficulty in fulfiling your engagements with Algiers and Tripoli ; and to the former, have very liberally made presents of frigates and other armed vessels."

We told him these facts had been misrepresented to him. Our government had, indeed, agreed to furnish to the Dey of Algiers, certain armed vessels for which he was to pay cash ; that we found no great difficulty in fulfiling this contract, because the vessels carried with them their own defence ; and because it had been several years in its accomplishment. We had therefore fulfiled it, and received the stipulated consideration. We were as ready to

fulfil our engagements with him, if, by any arrangements which could now be made, it could be rendered as feasible.

"You may inform me," said the Bashaw, "that the Dey of Algiers paid you cash for your vessels. I am at liberty to believe otherwise." Turning to M. Famin, he said, "If the treaty were not ratified by the government of the United States in its original form, why did you hoist their colors?"

"I had orders from the government to hoist them," said M. Famin.

We assured the Bashaw that no such orders had been given by our government, nor would be until the ratification of the treaty. The exceptions to it were but few, and with these exceptions, our government would find no difficulty in agreeing to it. If M. Famin imagined that our government wished to hoist the flag at all events, he must have mistaken the idea from the communication of some governmental agents, and not immediately. We should, however, when our affairs were accommodated, send direct dispatches to our government, when the obligations of our agent here would be acknowledged and paid.

Said the Bey, "It cost you but little to have your flag hoisted. It will cost you less to have it taken down:" and insisted on the Regalia as a condition of the preservation of the peace.

We repeated the hazard of sending out the stores. The articles were contraband of war: if they should fall into the hands of the French, they could on no principles be reclaimed. This would occasion to us positive loss; to him delay and disappointment. This event was almost certain. The streights of the Mediterranean were covered with French and Spanish war boats, and there was no way of passing them but by fighting through. To prevent, therefore, the disappointment which might, and most probably would be eventual, of sending out the stores unprotected, we proposed furnishing an equivalent cruis-

er, provided he acceded to the alterations we demanded in the treaty.

Said he "I shall expect an armed vessel from you gratuitously, after the business is settled, as you have given Algiers."

We answered him he might not expect any thing of the kind; it was utterly impossible. We had business enough for our naval force, in defending our commerce against the depredations of our common enemy; and it was only to prevent sacrificing our property in such a manner as to strengthen their hands, and to convince him of the integrity of our government, that we proposed substituting an armed vessel in lieu of the stores.

He observed that the present opportunity was not favorable to this subject, and proposed postponing it. Said he would send for us at a convenient season; but enjoined upon us to make our communications directly, or through his ministers, and not through the medium of a Jew.

This conversation was in presence of Mr. Famin, and it was believed on this account the Bey proposed postponing the discussion.

We retired into the area of the palace and remained a few minutes, when the Sapitapa asked several questions of a commercial nature, and said the Bey would send for us on Monday.

We returned to M. Famin's. During this interview we desired permission to take a house; and was answered that business of greater importance must first be arranged, after which accommodations of this sort would be attended to; besides this was the American house.

March 16th. Last evening, Mr. Cathcart went off to go on board, but was detained all night at the Goulette; accepted the hospitality of a respectable, intelligent old man, who had formerly been a Colonel in the army of the Stadtholder, now an engineer in the Bey's service, with whom he tarried all night, and from whom he obtained and noted in his diary

the following advice. "Trust no person with your affairs. Be aware of Famin. He is an insidious character, despised by all the Consuls : is considered as a spy upon their actions ; is supposed to have coined pretexts for the government of Tunis to make demands upon the tributary nations ; and he is generally believed to receive brokerage for all the fish he brings to their net.

The Bey is susceptible of flattery, and not absolutely unchangeable in his resolutions." This corresponded with the advice of the British Consul.

The plenipotentiary of Algiers, resident at Tunis, sent for us : we waited on him. After making us a tender of his friendship, he advised us to entertain no doubts of a favorable issue to our negociation; but to move with caution and perseverance : said the Barbary princes sometimes wore unmeaning frowns, and did not always execute their menaces.

We informed him of the position our government had taken to repel and punish the aggressions of France : told him the Bey of Tunis, since this position was taken, must adopt a policy to us wholly unaccountable, if, by rejecting our terms of accommodation, he should oblige us to turn those arms against his cruisers which were now pointed only against his enemy. But if he preferred this measure it was at his option : we should not accede to any extraordinary sacrifice to evade it. Situated as the United States are, they would not throw any property within his grasp on these seas unprotected. Whatever, therefore, he should chance to capture would first be disputed.

He seemed pleased with our hostility with France. Said, patience and perseverance were only necessary to the attainment of our object ; and engaged to see the Bey. He advised that Mr. Cathcart should remain with me till the business should be concluded, on account of his speaking the language ; and, in terms of great apparent sincerity, again made a ten-

der of his personal friendship to me as agent for the United States, for whose government he expressed great respect: (so would a Cherokee Chief, for a bottle of rum and a rifle.)

Algiers exerts all her means to maintain a commanding influence in the affairs of Tunis; and however reluctant the latter may be in yielding to this policy, imperious circumstances compel it. Algiers is the superior in arms and resource. This the subjects of the Bey well know, and are backward at contending with them. When therefore the Dey embarks his national pride in the attainment of any measure, he is sure to carry it with the Bey; consequently the latter will not voluntarily disoblige him, when he is convinced of his sincerity. It is nevertheless dangerous for Christian nations to employ the mediation of Algiers in negociation with Tunis: for these two powers generally play so understandingly into each others hands, that when the former has fleeced his cliant of the fee, the management of the cause becomes a matter of indifference.

Monday, 18*th*, Eleven, A. M. Went to the palace. After passing the usual ceremonies, taking coffee, and sitting a moment, the Bey desired to see the articles of the treaty which wanted revision. We produced a note in English, containing the articles and the amendment aimed at: these Mr. Cathcart rendered to him in Italian. He ordered his Secretary to give him the Turkish original. This he compared with the copy in French, which we had with us, and observed that he could see no reason why our government should reject, or wish to alter the 14th article, as it was perfectly reciprocal.

We told him it was not for want of a *literal* reciprocity in the article that it was exceptionable: but the duty being fixed at three per cent, would very essentially effect our existing commercial treaties with other nations, with whom we were at peace, and reduce us to the necessity, expense and trouble, of altering all those treaties.

The Bey answered that he was not tenacious of the article in its present shape : he was satisfied the duty should be altered to six, ten, or an hundred per cent, provided it retained its reciprocity, or that we should demand no partial privileges.

We proposed this substitute, ' The commerce of the citizens and inhabitants of the United States with the kingdom of Tunis, and the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdom of Tunis with the United States, shall be on the footing of the most favored nation for the time being respectively.'

The Bey said it was impossible for him to agree to this, till he should be informed what duties were paid in the United States : it was possible the burthen might be very unequal. The duties of the most favored nations were fixed in his ports at three per cent *ad valorem*, and according to a valuation taken and fixed by the prices current of Feb. 7, 1753. That many of those articles were now six hundred per cent dearer than at that period, and consequently did not pay half per cent. This was a permanent establishment fixed by treaty with the French, of the above date, and allowed to be considered as a rule for other nations. But the latitude which our proposed substitute would admit, might expose his subjects to the payment of any duty our government should think proper to impose, provided the most favored nations paid the same. He proposed fixing the duty at ten per cent respectively ; allowing his subjects to carry their merchandize under any colors whatever.

We told him the proposition was inadmissible, and were proceeding to give reasons, when he proposed to dismiss further discussion of this article till tomorrow.

We then introduced the first clause of the amendment to the 12th article. He said he had no objection to it ; but the original was more favorable to us than the amendment ; and he explained it to bear exactly the construction which the Secretary of the

United States imagined it might mean. "That the officers on the spot should furnish such protection without obliging the parties to seek it at a distance." It admitted this resort to his governors in the first instance, without application to subordinate authorities, and enjoined upon them the duty of furnishing this protection; leaving an appeal to himself in all cases where complete support and adequate justice were not rendered by those officers.

We passed from this clause to the second of the amendment to the same article.

The Bey said this article also was misconstrued, or badly translated from the original. It had reference only to cases of emergency, where *he*, (the Beylique,) had occasion to send vessels to the *Levant* or other ports in the Mediterranean; but did not mean to extend to vessels of war nor of the government.

We told him this was a concession, even with this explanation, which the United States yielded to no nation on earth. It was without reciprocity; it might work an essential injury to our merchants, by turning them out of their course; and it would also produce injury to the commercial interests of his subjects, because it would operate as a prohibition against our vessels entering his ports.

He said the Danes, Swedes, Dutch, Spaniards, and all other nations, with whom he was at peace, conceded to the same article, and it *could not* be dispensed with in this treaty.

We proposed to modify it as follows, 'If in case of emergency the government of Tunis should have need of an American vessel to facilitate dispatches to any port in the Mediterranean, such vessel, being within the Regency, and not a vessel of war, nor belonging to the government of the United States, may be compelled to perform such service, on receiving a payment sufficient to indemnify the owners and others concerned for such service and detention.' To

this he agreed : then revived the subject of the delay of our government in not forwarding the Regalia.

We repeated to him the reasons before stated ; explained to him the form of the government of the United States ; told him the Senate, who were a distinguished body of patriots elected from every State in the Union, to counsel the chief magistrate in affairs of this magnitude, had not consented to the ratification of the treaty : they had resolved not to ratify it till it should be modified on just and honorable terms. The compact was not complete ; the government therefore, were neither obliged nor authorized to forward the Regalia ; and, to deal very candidly on this subject, no provisions would be made for this purpose till the treaty should be amended and ratified : when this should take place the government would promptly and punctually fulfil their engagements.

The Bey paused a moment and said, " Tomorrow ! You have stayed till my dinner is getting cold. Go ; and come tomorrow at eleven o'clock."

Tuesday, 19th, Eleven, A. M. at the palace.

The Bey reverted again to the 12th article, and at our request, ordered his secretary to enter the explanation he had given to the first clause of the amendment in the original. Turning to the second, after going over the ground of yesterday, he affected not to have intended it should be altered agreeably to our translation of his meaning. It must not be limited to couriers only in cases of emergency, but extend to the freight of a vessel where he should have occasion to send or take a cargo to or from any port in the Mediterranean ; but it should extend to merchantmen only. He ordered his Secretary to insert, by interlineation, this alteration in the original ; observing at the same time that occurrences of this kind very seldom happened, and probably never would to the Americans.

We said this alteration of his was immaterial : it was not as we understood him yesterday. If it

should be confined to couriers only in cases of emergency, for the immediate service of the government, it was possible our government might consent to it; but as it now stood, they would surely reject it. But if they should agree to it, the result would be that our merchantmen would not enter his ports.

"Well" said he, "I can do without them: they seek their own profit and not mine in coming here. I get the pitiful sum of three per cent, by an old tarif, which hardly amounts to one; whereas, they make great profits to themselves. But, if your government does not like it as it now stands, they may reject it or send it back: it is now on a footing with the French, Danes, Swedes, Ducth, in short, with all nations at peace with us." Without further observation he returned to the 14th article; repeated the observations of yesterday; insisted on fixing the duty; but would agree it should be reciprocal.

We declared to him it was impossible for us to define the exact duty: the power of laying duties on imports was vested in the representatives of the whole nation, in congress assembled. We could only agree to the substituted article. This accorded to him the same privileges which are given to our best friends; leaving him at liberty at the same time to impose such duties on goods belonging to our citizens as he should think equitable and fit to impose on those of the nations most favored. Our commercial treaty with the powerful nation of England was on the same principle. France, before the annulling of our treaty, and all other nations with whom we were at peace, were exactly on this footing with us. His interest would probably never be effected by the article, and we could see no reason why he should so strenuously oppose a measure which would serve a friend and work no injury to himself. In short the article must be altered or the negociation was at an end; and he might abandon the expectation of the Regalia. He laid down the treaty; made us no reply; but, turning to his minis-

ters, began a conversation in Arabic. At length, turning to the eleventh article, he asked if there were any other article to be altered besides these. Answer, no. "What alteration do you want in this?" 'Strike out the barrel of powder for each gun, and reduce the number to fifteen.' He peremptorily refused. Said he would insert an alteration in the Turkish original, and render the terms of the article reciprocal, by imposing the same duty on Tunisian vessels in American ports. We told him the translation had it so. "But the original has not," said he: and, ordering his Secretary to make the addition, asked if we agreed to it now. We told him we did not; it did not alter our understanding of it: though the terms had a nominal reciprocity, they were otherwise in effect; because there was no probability that his ships of war would frequent our ports; whereas the very conditions of our peace with him obliged us to send our armed vessels into his. The article considered in relation to the expense was a trifle; but as it was unprecedented in any of his treaties with other nations, it would be humiliating in us to agree to it, and not very honorable in him to demand it; we trusted therefore, he would not insist on so singular a demand for so trifling a consideration. "However trifling," said he, "it may appear to you, to me it is important. Fifteen barrels of powder will furnish a cruiser which may capture a prize and net me one hundred thousand dollars."

We told him the concession was so degrading that our nation would not yield to it: both justice and honor forbade; and we did not doubt but the world would view the demand as they would the concession.

"You consult your honor," said he, "I my interest; but if you wish to save your honor in this instance, give me fifty barrels of powder annually, and I will agree to the alteration." We replied, that we should not expend a thought upon a proposition which aimed at making us tributary. We would a-

gree to pay him for the powder he burned in the salute. He turned to the Sapitapa, and said, in Turkish ; " These people are Cheribeenas ; they are so hard there is no dealing with them." (*Cheribeenas* are merchants from the confines of Persia.)

Mr. Cathcart translated this to me so loud that the Sapitapa heard him, and, grasping his hand, repeated the same in Italian.

We observed to him that we had made great sacrifices to obtain a peace, which was likely to produce nothing. He said it was customary for friends to accompany their professions with good offices, to demonstrate their sincerity. We answered, genuine friendship is generally reciprocal in these offices. But friendship is, in business of this nature, pretty much out of the question. If we were to talk of *equity*, it would be pretty difficult for him to justify his claims upon us : we have never done him any injury, nor received a favor from him ; and though we have been treated as enemies, we have never been at war with him. " You will be pleased to consider, also, that you have never been at peace ; and if it were no favor to have a free navigation into the Mediterranean, why do you ask it ?" said the Bashaw.

We proposed to expunge the eleventh article altogether. He acceded. " Or" said he " I'll agree that you shall not be saluted except you demand it ; and of course you will not be obliged to pay for a salute : it is no object with me to be firing away my ammunition to salute strangers ; but if you demand it you must pay for it." He got up and left the gulf without ceremony. Going out, he was asked if he had determined on any thing respecting the 14th article. " I'll think of it," said he ; " there are other people to be consulted. You will call the day after tomorrow."

The Sapitapa, who remained, took Mr. Cathcart by the arm and whispered him. " If you would agree to make the Bey a *private present*, it might in-

duce him to alter the 14th article ; but the article relative to the powder must stand." Mr. Cathcart asked my opinion on the propriety of agreeing to the proposal. I desired him to answer the Sapitapa, that in case of a favorable issue to the negociation, it was probable a gratuity of this nature might be expected, but no stipulation of the kind would be entered into. He did so. The minister seemed disappointed : said nothing. We told him the government of the United States had been taught to entertain a very respectable opinion of the abilities and integrity of the Bey of Tunis : and we hoped to have an opportunity to confirm this opinion : intimated to him that we were assured *his* influence would do much with the Bey ; and gave him to understand that his friendly offices would not be forgotten.

He said the Bey was very little under the influence of any man ; all his business of importance he transacted himself ; but, as the Americans had never been an active enemy, he had always been disposed to render them every assistance in his power ; he believed he had done much for them, and was still disposed to use the little influence he had in their favor ; *(and lied.)* Left the palace, 2 o'clock, P. M.

Thursday, 21st, eleven, A. M. waited at the palace an hour. The Bey engaged with letters from the east. Bid us come tomorrow at half past eight in the morning. It was proposed to me to wait on the Sapitapa. Supposing the maneuvre planned to give him an opportunity to demand money, I refused to see him. We returned to the city.

Friday, 22d, 10, A. M. at the palace. The Bey, after some introductory conversation, asked what was our determinations relative to *his* proposed alterations in the treaty ? We told him we had already given him our determination, and now waited his answer, in order to dispatch the brigantine. He introduced the 14th article ; said, again, if we would fix the duty at *ten, twenty,* or an hundred per cent, *advalorem,* reciprocally, he would have no objection to

the alteration : or if he were informed what duties were paid by other nations in our ports, he should be able to determine whether it would or not be consistent with the interest of his subjects to admit of our terms.

We answered that the duties in America were fluctuating : some articles of importation paid more, some less ; but to talk any more upon this subject was an unavailing consumption of time : we offered to put the Tunissians on the footing of the most favored nations for the time being, and only asked the same in return. The terms he insisted on could not be very interesting to him ; it was possible the Tunissian merchants will never send goods to America, and probable their vessels would never go there ; it could not therefore effect his subjects.

" True," said he, " my subjects have never yet been to America ; but why do you hence conclude they never will ?" Because they have no intercourse with us, their interest does not appear to promote it, and, if it did, they do not know the way. " Hitherto," said he, " they have not known the way ; but mankind are now becoming more enlightened and more enterprizing, and I hope ere long to have many vessels go there."

This we believed was not probable ; but, if it were, it would not alter the case ; no reason had been advanced, why the Tunissians should be admitted to privileges not granted to other nations, even the most favored ; the idea might at once be abandoned ; it could not be admitted, if *war* should be the consequence ; we were prepared for this event ; and although it would place both him and us in an awkward situation, to be destroying each other at the same time that our arms should be united against a common enemy, this, nevertheless, would be preferable to the concessions he demanded. But because mankind are placed on different parts of the globe, in such a manner as to produce contrasting interests, they should not, on every trifling occasion, make this destructive appeal : they should rather,

like members of the same great family, study a general good, even at the expense of individual interest. "True," said he, "but this will never be the case, so long as there are great and small among men. I have, however, no intention of a war with the United States; if so I should not have permitted their colors to be hoisted, although I might have found occasion in the failure of your government to forward the regalia."

We asked him if any inducement would prevail on him to make the alterations we demanded in the treaty. He answered, "No: I will agree to any thing you please, which shall be reciprocal; but I tell you as you have told me, you may as well abandon your terms." He then proposed the following substitute in substance.

"The citizens and inhabitants of the United States of America, shall have liberty to enter all the ports of the kingdom of Tunis, and freely trade, on paying a duty which shall countervail the duty paid by Tunissian merchants, in the ports of the United States, allowing nine months for obtaining the proper information; mean time, the Americans shall pay three per cent only, in the Tunissian ports. In like manner, the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdom of Tunis shall have free commerce in all the ports of the United States, on paying the duty usually paid by the most favored nation."

"Send this," said he, "to your government; if they do not like it, they may send it back."

We returned to the eleventh article, went over the ground of yesterday; insisted on a mutual salute, we paying the expense of the salute in his ports, he in ours: rejected. We told him, if he calculated on making a speculation by this article, he was in an error; he would not get a cartridge by it in an hundred years: no American Consul will ever demand a salute. Yet we were unwilling to dispense with this friendly compliment, if it could be exchanged on friendly terms. Have you, we interrogated, an

article like this, in any existing treaty, with any nation on earth? Why should you wish to impose on us this humiliating discrimination? Have we been more hostile to your interests, or less faithful to our engagements? Have we not at great expense aimed at a friendly intercourse with you; and have you not, by accepting our presents, seduced us to believe you were candidly disposed to treat with us on friendly and honorable terms?

"As to existing treaties," said he, "they were made by my predecessors, who were more allured by a gold watch or a diamond ring, than by magazines of ammunition and arsenals. I am not so much enamored with toys. *I* am now making a treaty for *myself*. Ammunition I must have. You make powder, and can, without much inconvenience, make this small compliment to my necessities. Your *good faith* I do not doubt; but your *presents* have been trifling."

We answered, 'we make powder; but not enough for our own consumption. We import from Europe much more than we manufacture; and what we make, comes as dear to us as what we import, because we import the ingredients; saltpetre from the vast distance of the East Indies, and sulphur from Saxony.'

He remained inflexible. The article was agreed upon as follows.

"When a vessel of war of one of the parties shall enter a port of the other, and demand to be saluted, there shall be paid one barrel of powder for each gun demanded for the salute: but if the demand be not made by the Consul on the part of the United States, or by the Commandant of the vessel on the part of the kingdom of Tunis, no salute shall be given, nor payment demanded for the salute."

We again proposed to send forward a cruiser in lieu of the stores stipulated. He said *one* cruiser would not be enough. "I have a head," said he, "you cannot over reach me." We are well con-

vinced of that. "But," continued he, "if you act politically, you will make me a compliment of a cruiser in *addition* to the stipulated regalia." We told him we should think of being generous, after we found the ability of being just. We should honestly give him whatever we agreed to give. "I do not suppose," said he, "you will study to cheat me; this is a characteristic of low life; but I find you closely attached to your interest: so we all are."

We retired to the Sapitapa's apartment, where the alterations were inserted in the original.

The Sapitapa took this opportunity to *demand* a present for the Bey. Said, he himself, and all the great men had received the customary presents on raising the flag: but the Bey had received nothing: it was a custom of all other nations. We told him we perfectly recollected hearing the Bey himself say but a few days since, that he was not a pauper; but had money to spare. It was very remarkable that he should so soon become a beggar: but, if he found any thing in the treaty which imposed the obligation, we were ready to pay it. As to the custom of all other nations, we chose to be singular in this instance: we were sorry, however, the Bey had so soon forgotten he had but a short time since received fifty thousand dollars, a present from the United States. "Fifty thousand dollars," said he, "is nothing. The Spaniards gave one hundred thousand for the peace; and very valuable presents on hoisting the flag."

The Spaniards have mines of gold and silver: they dig them in mass from the bosom of the earth: we get our cash in half pence, by laboring on its surface.

"You are however," said he, "a strong and enterprizing people, in the neighborhood of the Spanish mines: these will most probably shortly fall into your hands."

When this happens, we will make the Bey a present.

"But," continued he, "it was not fear which induced the Spaniards to make these presents: they had fleets at sea, to protect their commerce: it was a manly expression of friendship." We told him, on the other hand, the Spaniards had an extensive coast exposed to the ravages of the Tunissian Corsairs; and were constantly under apprehensions of having their defenceless women and children taken into captivity, and enslaved: this induced their *manly expression of friendship.* We had no fears of this kind. Our coast was not only far off, but defended by freemen. Every man had arms in his hands always prepared for defence; and if an assault should be made upon them, the assailants would find more bayonets than booty.

The Sapitapa appeared irritated: got up and went into the Bey's chamber: returned and insisted on the present. We refused: but said we would consult our government.

Monday was proposed to come for the treaty. We left him to recover his temper.

Monday, 25th, eleven, A. M. at the palace. Delivered the Consular presents. The Bey engaged with his Generals: desired to call tomorrow.

Tuesday, 26th March, eleven, A. M. at the palace. The treaty as amended, was delivered us by the Bey, in Turkish.

We retired into the Sapitapa's room. He renewed the demand of a present for the Bey: repeated that it was the custom of all nations, and made frequent reference to the Spaniards.

We told him the Bey had not admitted us to the privileges of all other nations; he ought not therefore, to expect the same usages from us. He had refused us a salute, except on terms repugnant both to our honor and our interest. He had extorted from us the concession of suffering our merchantmen to be pressed into his service. And he has exacted threefold the duty in his ports, which he had received

from any other nation. He had therefore less pretext to claim of us the same considerations. At any rate, we should make no stipulation of this kind. The nogociation was closed. This was entering upon a new negociation which neither our instructions nor inclination led us to enter upon.

Mr. Famin said he had intimated the thing to Mr. Barlow, who had instructed him to make the necessary provision to meet this demand. Doubted. He said he had the letter. We told him he had mentioned this circumstance in the palace on Saturday, and promised to produce the document. Two days had elapsed but he had omitted it. We believed nothing of this was ever intimated to our government: and we were well persuaded they would not yield to it. "Then," said the Sapitapa, "you may write your government that you have a *truce* but not a *peace* with Tunis. We told him, if peace depended on admitting these claims, we were ready to make the communication he dictated. He blustered: threw down his papers in an affected rage: used menace: come again to the subject, and produced a note, containing an invoice of the articles given by Spain. We refused to see it. He urged it upon us. We said the Bey had no longer ago than yesterday, received a present. He said that was a *consular* present, and had no relation to the *usages* of raising the flag. Asked if we wanted a long peace. Said, if we did, it must be on liberal terms. We answered, that we expected the peace would continue as long as it would be found convenient: the same, whether we paid more or less. He blustered again, and again menaced us with war, in case the demand was not complied with. We took the note, told him we would forward it to our government, but assured him they would pay no attention to it.

In this affair, M. Famin has betrayed his real character. He is manifestly in the interest of the court, and prepared to countenance all their projects

of plunder : but this may arise as much from a spirit of dependence as selfishness.

Wednesday. 27th. Received the following note from the Secretary of State, dictated by the Sapitapa.

" I write to you in the name of Sidi Joseph, so far as relates to my subject. Sidi Joseph says it is the *usance* of this regency, when the articles are changed, to give the customary *usances* to the Secretary and to the Sapitapa : and also, if it is written out *an hundred times*, it is necessary to give the same *usance* as at the *first* time.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed.) M. STINCA."

Dated at the palace, 27th March.

Friday, 29th March. Wrote the Sapitapa as follows. ' Day before yesterday I received a note from the Secretary, Mr. Stinca, informing me that so often as a treaty is written out or altered, the customary presents are given to the keeper of the seal and the Secretary. It would be agreeable to me to be informed what these presents are. I hope it will be considered that the treaty, till now, could never be considered complete ; and that the presents already given have been in anticipation of this event. This being the case, the demand for presents does not bear with it that appearance of propriety, as it would in case there had been a rupture between the parties, and the treaty renewed. I am, at present, unprepared to meet a demand of this nature : but if I find the custom established and formed in equity, provision shall be made for it. Candor and duty, demand of me however, to declare, that I can in no case of this kind, resort to the Spanish nation for precedent to govern my conduct : If the United States should emerge from their present distressed situation, they may perhaps become enabled to adopt the usages of the Danish and Swedish nations.

I am, &c.'

April 1st. The following is an extract from the answer of the Secretary, dated April 1st.

" Sidi Joseph says that your treaty *has been* already ratified in the manner of all other nations who are our friends. Since you *altered* and retrenched some of the articles, and the treaty is *changed*, he requires of you his *usance*, and that of the Secretary, as all other nations have given. Sidi Joseph says he is much surprized at the import of your letter of 29th ult. " That you could not regulate your conduct by the example of the Spanish nation ; and if it were convenient to the situation of the United States you probably would regulate yourself by the usages of the Danish and Swedish nations." While this was received, the Bey had ridden out. Sidi Joseph immediately mounted, went to our Lord the Bey, and told him what you had written. The Bey told him to write to you that he *would have* his present according to the note which you, gentlemen, copied in the presence of Sidi Joseph : and more, that his Excellency would have it a *little better* than what was contained in the note you, gentlemen, took. His Excellency the Bey likewise said, if you were not contented with the proposals he made to you to communicate to your court, you might arrest the brig, call at the palace and speak with his Excellency the Bey, and he will give you more *precise terms* to communicate to your government.

(Signed.) STINCA."

I returned the following note to the Sapitapa. ' I have received your letter of this morning. Tomorrow at ten in the morning I will have the pleasure to wait on his Excellency the Bey.'

This morning, Mr. Cathcart embarked for Tripoli, in the Sophia.

Tuesday, 2d, Six, A. M. The brig sailed with a fair wind.

At ten I waited on the Bey with additional presents ; among them six pieces of cloth of different colors, which were divided between him and the Sapitapa. To these he affected perfect indifference.

Asked in an air of importance why the brig had sailed, contrary to the order contained in his note of yesterday. I told him the affairs of my nation required it. He showed disgust at the import of my note of the 29th ult. I told him our engagements must be dictated by our abilities to fulfil them : hoped he would consider that America is distressed by war : that the articles he demanded, were to be procured from the countries only, with whom the war forbade an intercourse ; and it was therefore impossible to accede to his demand. He said he would have the present demanded. I told him our government must be consulted. " If you will not agree to it," said he, " you may go home and consider void all which has hitherto been done." I answered, if there was no other alternative, I would go. " Very well," said he, " I give you ten days to consider on the subject ; and, if you continue in this present resolution, you may embark in the brig, on her return from Tripoli, and go home." Very well ! He arose from his Sofa in a rage ; and left the chamber without ceremony. The Sapitapa remained. " Are not these articles manufactured in America ?" ' No, we have neither the materials nor the manufacturers in America.' He appeared surprised. " Is not America an old country ? ' No ; it is not yet two hundred years since the first effectual settlements were made in the United States.' " But the Bey must have his present : it is indispensable." ' If the Bey be sincere in his pacific expressions, he will not at this period insist on a present which it is impossible to procure, and leave no alternative but war.' I hoped he would use his friendly influence to direct the Bey from his partinacity. He made no answer. I left him without ceremony : but ordered my interpreter to leave with him a douceur which I had provided for the purpose. On leaving the court, a number of applications were made for money for petit officers and principal slaves of the palace, which were said to be *usages of all other nations*, on a new Consul's being received.

Among other questions of the Sapitapa irrelavant to this subject, one was, *what faith the Americans held.* I told him we believed in GOD, Almighty, the reward of justice, and the punishment of Fraud. "I thought," said he, "you were not very superstitious Christians!" The Tunissians have a contemptible opinion of Christians: and well they may: for those of them with whom they have had most acquaintance, have lapsed from the dignity of Christianity, to unmeaning ceremony, and shameful effeminacy.

Wednesday, 3d. Waited on Mustapha Coggea, the Prime Minister, an old man who *had been* very influential, but had lost his *teeth.* Made him an additional present of two pieces of cloth. He expressed a sense of obligation, and very modestly told my interpreter that, *if he were not ashamed to do it, he would give me back the present.*

The Sapitapa sent for me, and renewed, in his apartment, the subject of the Bey's present: but appeared in better temper than yesterday: the mediator, left with him, had, perhaps, softened his obduracy. He reminded me however, that, during the discussion of the articles of the treaty, I had intimated to him, that the Bey might expect something very handsome, in case he admitted the alteration; that, having obtained my object, it seemed I had forgotten the obligation, or was disposed to evade it. I answered him I should evade no obligation fairly contracted: thought the Bey had mistaken the real purport of my letter, or I had not communicated my meaning intelligibly. It went only to assure him that the United States will not adopt the example of the Spaniards; and for a very good reason; they had not the ability. Why should we promise regalia which our country did not produce? It were better to deal thus plainly with him, than to flatter him to expect jewels which might never be in our power to procure. It was true, as I told him yesterday, we had neither gold nor diamonds in America, nor any

body who knows how to work them. "What, are you," said he, "a parcel of countrymen, shepherds and rustics ?" 'Very much so.' "But you build ships ?" 'Yes.' "Of what timber ?" 'The best.' "And handsome ?" 'Yes.' "Well, suppose you agree to make the Bey a present of a small, handsome cruiser ?" 'The Bey has given me ten days to consider on his first proposal. In this time I will consider this proposal. Am glad however, you are disposed at length to modify the demand. When the brig returns, I will wait on the Bey with an answer.' "And I," said he, "mean time, will endeavor to facilitate the measure."

It is hard to negociate where the terms are wholly exparte. The Barbary courts are indulged in the habits of dictating their own terms of negociation. Even the English, as the Consul himself informed me, on his arrival and reception here, had furnished him a present in cash and other articles valued in England at seventeen thousand pounds sterling. But Tunis trembles at the voice of England. This then must be a political intrigue of England to embarrass the other mercantile Christian nations ; and it has the effect. To the United States, they believe they can dictate terms. Why should they not? Or why should they believe it will ever be otherwise ? They have seen nothing in America to controvert this opinion. And all our talk of resistance and reprisal, they view as the swaggering of a bragadocio. They are at present seriously concerned, through fear that the English and Americans are in offensive and defensive alliance. The report is current, and I have taken occasion to cherish it by being seen frequently with the British Consul, dining with him, and holding secret intercourse. But whatever stratagem may be used to aid our measures, it is certain, that there is no access to the permanent friendship of these states, without paving the way with gold or cannon balls ; and the proper question is, which method is preferable. So long as they

hold their own terms, no estimate can be made of the expense of maintaining a peace. They are under no restraints of honor nor honesty. There is not a scoundrel among them, from the prince to the muleteer, who will not beg and steal. Yet, when I proposed to the Sapitapa to day to substitute money in lieu of the *present*, he said the *Bey had too high a sense of honor to receive a bribe :* he would receive a present ; but it would affront him to offer him money.

Saturday, 6th. The prime minister, Mustapha Coggea, returned his present to me with a message that he was not accustomed to receiving presents inferior in value to the Sapitapa, who was inferior to him in rank, being second minister. He believed I had been misled by the advice of the Jews in the distribution I had made of my presents. If he could not have an equivalent to the Sapitapa, he would have nothing. The messenger said the prime minister was very angry ; but intimated that the present, with some small additions, might go down and remove his bile. When I was with him on Wednesday, he did not discover any discontent. He probably did not then know what the Sapitapa had received.

Sunday, 7th. A demand came from the Admiral for a gold headed cane, a gold watch and chain, and twelve pieces of cloth : the *usance* on a new Consul's being received. Laid on the table.

A demand came from the Aga of the Goulette for his *usance* on the occasion of the first vessel of war coming to anchor in the bay. To this I answered that *I would make him a present of a copy of the treaty.*

Sunday, 14th, 8, A. M. at the Palace. The Sapitapa informed me that the Bey had rejected the proposal of a small cruiser in lieu of the present in jewels.

I told him, notwithstanding the Bey had refused to listen to a *cash proposition*, I would once more

make him a tender, and proposed fifty thousand dollars in full of all demands. He said the maritime and military regalia were very rich; that they were peculiarly necessary at this period; and if I would offer two hundred and fifty thousand dollars the Bey would not accept it.

I recapitulated the expense already incurred in our negociation with this Regency; and shewed him Famin's general account and list of presents. He said it was a trifle; and again mentioned the jewels. I observed it was very unaccountable the Bey should persevere in his demand of articles which the war rendered it impossible to procoure. "Get them in England," said he; "we like the English manufactures much better than the French and Spanish." I said it was still more extraordinary that the Bey should demand of the United States threefold the duties of all other nations; refuse the salute which he gave all other nations; compel an obligation on us to suffer our merchantmen to be pressed into his service; and yet demand of us the usages of the richest and most favored nation on earth. He repeated that the *service* very probably would never be required. Be this as it may, the Bey would have the presents. He now demanded for himself a double barrelled gun and a gold chain to a watch; said the *American Agent* had promised the gun, and he believed had sent for it. I told him plainly the United States would find it cheaper and better policy to send a force into these seas to defend their commerce, than to yield to these accumulated demands. "Very well;" said he.

He reported to the Bey. In a few minutes I was introduced to his apartment. A few words passed between us of the tenor of the foregoing. He got into a passion: arose and left the hall: but turned, going out, and said, "consult your government. I give them six months to give me an answer, and to send the presents. If they come in that time, well; if not, take down your flag and go home."

Thus, sir, I have given a faithful but a tedious detail of our negociation. The United States sat out wrongly ; and have proceeded so. Too many concessions have been made to Algiers. There is but one language which can be held to these people ; and this is *terror*. If *my own feelings* were to dictate the answer to the demands submitted, it would be a solemn one. But whether good policy would dictate this is the question. We should get little, and might lose much. At all events we should have to buy a peace at last, and redeem our captives, unless we could effect the intire destruction of the Regency, or convince them of our ability to do it. Our affairs are critically circumstanced. Much mischief is meditated by our cidevant agent. I am assured he has this day formally protested to the Bey against the United States establishing another *Consul here and taking the bread out of his own mouth :* and I should not be surprised to have an opportunity to hand my dispatches to the department of State.

I have not yet made great sacrifices, nor other than unavoidable ; but I expect to be compelled to it, except something at present unforeseen, shall operate to prevent it. I will not however be bullied into the measure. When I find it necessary I will soften my tone with this government : but this will be my dernier. The language of independence has never been spoken by our agent. If he were received as the representative, as well as the agent of the Government of the United states, well may we be considered fit for slaves. I am persuaded he has never resisted any demand ; and am of opinion he has *shared the benefits of his own concessions.* My inverted opinion of this *Frenchman* may seem unaccountable. His civilities to me were the upper dress of hypocrisy.

I believe it would have a good effect to show force in these seas, if it can be spared from our own coasts ; if it be only to convince these pirates that we are not Italians. If the present of jewels be resisted,

as I devoutly pray it may, it will be absolutely necessary, or the other regalia will not be received. Denmark furnishes a recent example of this nature. Policy forbids the Tunissians going to war with the United States at present. So long as this continues to be the case, we are not in much danger: but no sense of justice would prevent this event if occasion should suit. It is probable further forbearance may be obtained, and must, from the impossibility of returning the answer within the time; but it is hoped too much may not be presumed on this probability. The United States have no messenger whom I would greet with so much cordiality with the answer as *Commodore Barry.*

I have the honor to remain,
With perfect respect,
Sir, your most obedient
very humble servant,
WILLIAM EATON.
April 15.

Honorable Secretary
of the United States.

The instructions of the Secretary of state, Mr. Pickering, to Mr. EATON, were very ample, directing him not only with regard to the more immediate duties of a Consul, but requiring his attention to the military and naval force, manufactures, commerce, laws, policy, &c. of Tunis and the other Barbary powers. The following, omitting unimportant remarks, conveys much information on these subjects.

Tunis, 15th June, 1799.

SIR,

The commerce of Tunis is principally monopolized by the Jews. The hides and wax of the whole kingdom, which are considerable articles of exportation, are farmed by a company of merchants, compos-

ed principally of Jews, called Giornata ; for which they pay the Bey, annually, sixty thousand piasters, equal to seventeen thousand one hundred and forty two dollars. The subjects are compelled to sell the hides to this company at eleven cents each, and wax at thirty two dollars per quintal. The Giornata have had a factory established at Leghorn, whither these raw materials were exported, till the operations of the French in Italy, since which this factory is moved to Messina. Two hundred and fifty thousand hides, and four hundred quintals of wax, are supposed to enter into the ordinary annual trade of this company. Revenue produced to the Bey. dols. 17,142, 85.

The other and more considerable articles of exportation are oil, wheat and barley. Of these, the Bey receives tithes. One hundred and thirty thousand metars of oil, of six gallons each, are supposed to be annually exported to Europe and Asia. In addition to the tithes, the Bey receives sixty four cents per metar for a *tiskery*, (permission to export.) The oil is purchased, at about twenty eight cents per gallon, the average price, which, with the tiskery, amounts to something less than thirty nine cents per gallon. According to this calculation, the annual revenue derived from this article is, dols. 78,520.

The exportation of wheat, exclusive of the tithe, is supposed to be three hundred and fifty thousand bushels annually. Suppose this to be nine tenths of the whole annual produce of the country, the value of the tithe in wheat will amount to thirty eight thousand eight hundred and eighty eight dollars. For a *tiskery* for each caffice of eleven bushels, the Bey receives six dollars, amounting to one hundred and ninety four thousand, four hundred and eighty nine dollars. Upwards of one hundred and twenty vessels, averaging ninety tons, annually load with this article. And the revenue produced, according to the above calculation, is dollars 223,377, 74.

I cannot ascertain the quantity of barley exported, and duties collected ; but, supposing it to be half as much as the wheat, the revenue arising from this article would be about dollars, 70,000. The exportation of beans and vetches is supposed to produce about dollars, 17,000.

Some beeves and sheep are exported, but the quantity is inconsiderable : on these articles however duties are collected by giving *tiskeries*.

This information is obtained from a principal Hebrew merchant in this city. And, although it may not be accurate, it may communicate some idea of the produce and internal revenue of this kingdom.

The principal manufactures of the kingdom, are red caps and sashes ; a sample of the former, I sent by Capt. Geddes, of which great quantities are exported into all the Turkish dominions.

The manufactors of caps import annually from Spain three thousand quintals of fine wool : and the sash manufactories receive annually from the Morea, six hundred quintals of raw silk. These articles pay no duty. This is a peace calculation. The present war has totally deranged the commerce of this kingdom. Ragusa is at present the carrier for Tunis ; and what little commerce remains to them, centres principally at Smyrna and other ports of the Levant, along the coast of Dalmatia and the Morea.

Muslins, stuffs, fine cloths, iron, coffee, sugar, pepper and spices of all kinds, bleached wax candles, cochineal, dried fish and lumber, are articles of importation much wanted and which would command great prices in cash, at least three hundred per cent more than in America.

[Mr. EATON here gives a list of the marine force of Tunis; by which it appears that the Tunissians then possessed ninety four armed vessels, nine hundred and twenty eight guns, and eighty eight swivels ; the whole manned by upwards of eight thousand men.]

The foregoing list and annexed schedule exhibit in a summary view, the most correct information attainable of the naval force of Tunis, the species of armed vessels, the number of their guns and men, and the times of the year they go to sea: also the increase of the navy the last ten years. Mr. Tulin, the Swedish Consul, the oldest and perhaps best informed in the kingdom, informs me that, twenty years ago, Tunis could send out but nine cruisers. It may not be improper to note here, that the Bey receives tithes of all prizes brought into any of his ports by the *privateers* of his kingdom. This, in addition to the tribute of *regalia* from Christian nations, the prizes taken by the corsairs of the regency, and the internal duties upon commerce, produce a great revenue. But these sources are failing. But twenty cruisers have gone out this year.

The cruising ground of the corsairs of this kingdom has heretofore been in the vicinity of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, on the coast of Genoa, Tuscany, Naples, Calabria, and in the entrance of the Adriatic sea; and even as far up as Venice. But these coasts, having fallen under the protection of the belligerent powers, now afford no game. Their mode of attack is uniformly boarding. For this, their vessels are peculiarly constructed. Their long latteen yards drop on board the enemy, and afford a safe and easy conveyance for the men who man them for this purpose: but being always crouded with men, they throw them in from all points of the rigging, and from all quarters of the decks; having their sabres grasped between their teeth, and their loaded pistols in their belts, that they may have the free use of their hands in scaling the gunnels or netting of their enemy. In this mode of attack they are very active and very desperate. Taught by *revelation* that war with the Christians will guarantee the salvation of their souls, and finding so great secular advantages in the observance of this *religious* duty, their inducements to desperate fighting are

very powerful. Proper defence against them are high nettings with chains sufficiently strong to prevent their being cut away ; buck shot plentifully administered from muskets or blunderbusses ; and lances. But it is always best to keep them at distance, that advantage may be taken of their ignorance at manoeuvering.

The principal naval ports are Porto Farina, the Goulette, Ifax, Susa, and Biserte. Porto Farina is the rendezvous for vessels of war, no other being permitted to lay up there. It is situated about eight or nine leagues N. N. W. from Tunis, and about six or eight miles W. by S. from the western point which forms the bay of Tunis. The harbor is secured by the walls and batteries of the town of the same name, forming an entrance of about seven feet water for the admission of the cruisers, which are obliged to anchor under the batteries, get out their guns, ballast, provisions, &c. and being careened on their sides to lessen the draft of water, to be towed in by a species of large scows, called pontoons. Vessels of any size may anchor within gun shot of the walls. The town is said to contain about one hundred thousand inhabitants ; has a governor, (Mahomet Coggea) and police ; and is the magazine and arsenal of the naval and military stores of the kingdom. The governor owns the most cruisers of any man in the kingdom ; more than the Regency.

The bay of Tunis is formed by capes Fauna or Plain island, and Bon ; and is thirty miles deep. The harbor at the Goulette, nine or ten miles E. by S. from Tunis, is an immense bason, having cape Carthage (N. E. point of the peninsula of the ancient city) on its west, and a projection of the main land a little north of the mouth of Bagrada, so noted for Regulus's serpent, on the east. It is defended by an enormous stone castle feet high, mounting guns, and by barbet batteries below ; under cover of which, at a small distance, merchant vessels may ride in four or five fathom water. At a little

further distance vessels of war of any draft have good anchoring ground in water from six to twenty fathom. It is a safe and beautiful harbor. Within this bason, divided from it by a garter of land about six miles in length, and secured by the castle of the Goulette, is a stagnant lake thirty miles in circumference, reaching quite to the suburbs of Tunis, whose deepest water is not more than six feet, which receives through a canal, immediately under the walls of the castle, the sandals, or lighters with merchandize from the vessels at anchor in the bay. In the same manner all vessels receive from the city their provisions and lading, riding at anchor ; for there is not a wharf, which I have seen, on all the coast. In this lake the half gallies lay up in winter. Its waters are so stagnant that, as the boats pass across it, a green, putrid wake is seen in their path, and a sickly, most offensive smell fills the air at some distance. The putrid miasmata from this lake may be, perhaps, among other causes of the plague in Tunis. It has been said to inundate the ruins of Carthage. This is erroneous. I have repeatedly visited those ruins. The exterior walls and ditches of the ancient city can be traced without the least difficulty. The walls of Byrsa, the citidal, and temple of Æsculapius, may also be traced on an elevation of ground one hundred and eighty feet above the surface of the water, bordering on the sea three or four miles from the lake. The immense cisterns, thirty feet deep, covered by vast arches supported by strongly cemented pillars of stone, are still entire : but these, like many other arches of vaults, cisterns and magazines, are now subterraneous ; and the Moors cultivate the surface where their superstructures once stood. It is manifest, however, that this lake covers a part of an ancient village, vestiges of which are found buried in ruins, in the vicinity of the Goulette.

Ifax, a fortified town situated 48 leagues S. S. E. from Tunis, the next very considerable port, has

a large, open harbor, but remarkably safe, being covered by an island at its entrance. It has good anchoring ground from six to ten fathoms water. The governor sends out many cruisers, as is shewn by the list.

Susa, a fortified town, 20 leagues S. S. E. from Tunis, has a good harbor, and anchoring ground of six to eight fathom water within pistol shot of the town.

Biserte, situated about 10 leagues N. W. from Tunis, has a large bay and good anchoring ground within musket shot of the castle: but the road, being quite open, is exposed to a heavy sea from the N. E. which renders it a mere shelter. Biserte has a large mole within its walls communicating with the bay without and with a large, beautiful lake in its rear, by canals of about forty feet width and ten deep. Into this mole the cruisers are brought for safety in the same manner as they are got over the entrance of Port Farina.

Heather's chart of the Mediterranean gives the best points of direction for entering these ports.

The winds upon these coasts are variable at all seasons of the year. But in settled weather in the summer season there is said to be a sea breeze setting in there by day, and a land breeze setting off by night. This is probably occasioned by the greater rarefaction of air by the reflected heat from the sands on shore by day and the warm surface of the water by night.

From the foregoing list and schedule it appears that no season of the year is considered peculiarly dangerous to navigation. February has uniformly sent out fewest cruisers, but this I apprehend, may be ascribed rather to the great sensibility of these people to the cold than any other cause. This forms no impediment to the European sailor, who navigates those seas at all seasons of the year.

The country on the sea coast of this kingdom is naturally luxuriant and beautiful beyond description.

Well might the *Romans consider it a luxury to have a seat here.* Were it in the possession of an enlightened and enterprising people, I know not why it might not vie with the opposite continent in every thing useful, rich and elegant.

The government is absolute, heredetary monarchy; but uncommonly mild in its administration. The present Bey holds the regency by usurpation. His father, Alha Bey, on the death of a brother, Mahomet Bey, took the government in trust during the minority of a nephew, Sidi Mahmoud Bey, the rightful heir. By an eminently mild and good administration he secured the love and adoration of his subjects; and by bribes and intrigues with the divan, principal officers of state and the Grand Signior, he procured the regency established in himself and descendants, to the exclusion of the heir of the right line, who is now held as a kind of hostage in the palace and maintained by the regency. Hamuda Bashaw Bey, the present regent, by possessing many of the talents of his father, and by adopting his examples in government, has established himself so firmly in the affections and confidence of his subjects, that his rival seems to have abandoned all hopes of dispossessing him, and quietly submits to the usurpation. He enjoys however the title of Bey, a title stripped of all appendages.

It is remarkable that the Alcoran forms the only code of laws in this regency. (As this is formed in *religion* it will be naturally concluded that here are no *lawyers*, and of course very little *litigation*.)

The Bey, solus, forms the supreme court of judicature, and admits presentments and causes of every name and nature to be originally brought before him. Such as he finds capital or important he hears and determines; petit felonies and small traversies he sends down to a public inferior court of justice, called Sharah, in the city of Tunis, at the head of which is the Cadi or high priest.

In each province and considerable town are inferior courts. The Cait, or farmer of the revenue, a kind of deputy governor, forms a species of court of common pleas for hearing and determining all matters of dispute between private subjects, where the demand does not exceed a certain sum, or where the subject matter of controversy is not of a criminal nature. And the Caia, a governor of the province, who is also commandant of the forces, forms a court in the nature of sessions of the peace for the trial of all criminal offences not capital. In causes of this nature these courts may have original jurisdiction, but appeal lies in all cases from their decision to the Bey, or supreme court.

The Bey sits in the hall of justice from eight till twelve o'clock in the winter, and from seven till eleven in the summer, every day in the year, Fridays and the days of Biram and Ramadan, public feasts, only excepted. In all the courts the plaintiff enters and argues his own cause, *in propria persona*, and the defendant in like manner pleads and defends. So also in criminal prosecutions. The whole management consists in simple statements, substantiating and refuting allegations, generally by evidence deduced from the testimony of witnesses. Their rules and maxims, in trials of criminal and capital offences, are very similar to those of our common law; especially the crime of murder; and may be and probably are, derived from the same source, the law of Moses.

The Bey also transacts all his national concerns in his own person, and superintends the police of his navy and army, even the payment of his troops. These duties render his life extremely laborious. He lives abstemiously, exercises much and sleeps little, (and alone though connected by marriage with the finest and most accomplished woman in the kingdom, who is about ten years younger than himself, and devoted to him by the most affectionate attachment.) But with all these excellent qualities of the

prince, he is not without a blemish the name of which would excite a blush in the countenance of the most depraved of *nature's* children. And however singularly unnatural, his favorite minister (the Sapatapa) a lusty Turk of about thirty three, is the first object of his passion!

He also is unboundedly avaricious. And though he said to me he was not enamored with toys, his palace is crowded with rich jewels of all sorts and arms ornamented with gold and diamonds; and his wife is said to be loaded with gold and diamonds, which, like the jewels of Paulina, may be literally said to be locked from usefulness and from the world.

The military force of Tunis is rather imaginary than real. Every Turk, and descendant of a Turk, is a soldier and under pay, they amounting to 6,800. These, though they are never embodied, are what they call their regular troops. Detachments of them appear in the field once or twice a year, for the purpose of swaggering into the interior provinces, to collect the revenues of the poor, oppressed Moors. They cannot be said to have an uniform: and they have less discipline than the rudest troops I have ever seen in America; and I have seen our militia from Boston in Massachusetts to Lexington in Kentucky, and from the north boundaries of Vermont to the south boundaries of Georgia. They are armed with a sabre, brace of pistols, and a rusty musket without a bayonet. Their camp, as they call their army, or rather their mob, when assembled, are composed partly of cavalry, who are armed in the same manner as the infantry. Their horses, taken collectively, are really worse than the *mill horses* of my own native country, New England, which every body knows are wretched enough, brought into the field as nature formed them, or only altered by the galling of pack saddles or hampers, and totally undisciplined. They have no manual exercise nor field manoeuvres. On their march they drive on helter skelter, as void of tactics as the tigers

of their desert: and their encampments are as irregular as their exercise. Such are all the soldiery whom I have seen, and I have reason to believe such are all whom the kingdom can produce. These, as I have said before, are *regulars*: their militia is still worse. Every Moor has arms. Their natives form the militia: but they assemble neither in bodies nor detachments, except in case of imminent danger: and they then rush down from the mountains like so many wolves of the forest. In their complexion and habits they have a striking resemblance to the American savages; and in their manners resemble them much: but they want that wild magnanimity, that air of independence, which animate those free born sons of our forests. I am inclined to believe the Moors are timid. The Turks are said to be brave. This is not impossible. Bunker's hill affords a proof that undisciplined men will fight: but the campaign of '76 also proves that undisciplined men form bad armies. I cannot ascertain the number of the unorganised militia.

The pay of the Turkish soldier is four aspers, 2-91 of a dollar per diem, without clothing, and without rations, except when in the field. This sum increases one asper every third year till it amounts to, but cannot exceed, twenty nine aspers per diem, let the rank be what it will. The Bey, being a Turk, is, of course, a soldier, and commander in chief of the army and navy. His pay for this service is twenty nine aspers per diem. His Major Generals receive the same and no more for their military services. How do they subsist? By perquisites. This establishment may have been founded in economy: it has destroyed discipline.

Among the other miscellany of this letter, the aggressions of these pirates which have lately happened, and some reflections on the affairs which intimately concern our nation, I hope may not be considered wholly impertinent.

In the years '85 to '9, Tunis is said to have taken one hundred prizes from Venice. In the month of August of the year 1797, Prince Paterno of Sicily, as he was passing from Palermo to Naples, in a Greek vessel of the Morea, with subjects of the Grand Signior, and under Ottoman colors, was taken by a Tunissian corsaire and brought into port. The court of Naples protested to the Grand Signior against the capture, who sent an envoy to Tunis to examine the vessel's papers. Finding them not minutely regular, the vessel and cargo were adjudged as a good prize, and the crew and passengers condemned to slavery. The prince remained a prisoner till the middle of December of the same year, when he stipulated for his own ransom for four hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the Bey and fifty thousand to the Sapitapa.

On the eighth of September last, five Tunissian corsaires, carrying nine hundred and ninety men, landed, in the grey of the morning, upon the island of St. Peters in the dependence of Sardinia, captured and brought prisoners to Tunis seven hundred women and children and two hundred and twenty men. The description given me, by the British Consul, of the barbarous and brutal conduct practiced upon these unfortunate, defenceless wretches, would shock a savage. The able bodied men of the island being at their vintages in the country, these people fell a feeble sacrifice to the merciless assailants. Decriped age, delicate youth and helpless infancy, were tumbled headlong from their beds, precipitated down flights of stairs, shoved out of street windows, driven naked in an undistinguished crowd, without respect to sex or circumstance, through the streets, and crammed promiscuously into the filthy hold of one of their cruisers; in this manner brought across the sea, and in this wretched plight goaded with thongs through the street of the city by their relentless captors, driven to the common auction square, and consigned to slavery. The king of Sardinia, distressed as he has

been on the other hand by the crimes of the republic, has not hitherto found the ability to redeem them, at the enormous sum of six hundred and forty thousand dollars, which the Bey demanded. He has lately appointed an aged and respectable Count, Porcheela, who has been four times before an ambassador to this Court, and who is now here to negociate the terms of their redemption. He has at length prevailed on the Bey to accept the sum of two hundred and seventy thousand dollars ; but the terms of payment are not yet agreed upon : there is however a prospect of their release. * * * * * * * * * * *

The old, the infirm, and the infants, who were unfit for slaves, have been obliged to shift for themselves. They could not find subsistence. Charity dealt her sparing morsel to them. They have suffered much : but the Consuls severally contributed something to their relief. I received a letter from the Sardinian Secretary of State, and another from the Consul General appointed to be charged with the affairs of all nations who have not a consul established in that kingdom, soliciting the good offices of the American Consul in this affair : the latter seemed to claim as an obligation, intimating that he had often rendered disinterested services to Americans in Sardinia. I gave one hundred dollars. * * * * * *

When war was declared against France, the Consul and all his countrymen were confined in close prison, and their property sequestered, notwithstanding a treaty stipulation that the Consul and others of his nation should be allowed one year, after declaration of war, to adjust their affairs and depart the kingdom.

On the 3d. of April last, the garrison of Corfu surrendered by capitulation to the combined forces of the Russians and Turks, on condition of being convoyed to France. On the 25th, one of the transports having on board two hundred and fifty of the garrison, being separated from its convoy, fell in with and was captured by an Algerine corsaire. On the sec-

ond of May they were brought into Tunis, and on the fourth they were marched through the city and sent off by land to Algiers, where they have since been condemned to slavery. About the same time a Venician vessel was taken under the Emperor's colors and passport, carried to Algiers and condemned; the Dey refusing to know the Emperor.

On the 8th of May, a Tripoline corsaire sent into the port of the Goulette a large Danish ship laden with sugar and coffee, taken in the straits. There has been no war declared by Tripoli against Denmark: but the latter has *delayed* some stipulated regalia.

On the same day the Bey of Tunis condemned as a good prize a Sicilian merchant vessel taken by his corsairs with admiral Nelson's passport. The admiral has the firmin of the Grand Signior to protect whatsoever vessel he pleases.

A few days since the Bey of Tunis demanded of the king of Spain two frigates of thirty two guns each; and it is said the demand is acceded to by the Consul.

Denmark is in arrear to this regency for some regalia of maritime stores, which being delayed beyond the limited time, the Bey demanded additional presents, to compensate the damages of the delay. The demand being submitted by the Consul to his court and rejected, the stipulated regalia, though actually forwarded, were refused to be received, and now lie under water at the Goulette. The affair is unsettled.

It would seem that aggressions and insults such as these would bring down vengeance upon these regencies by a combination of all Europe against them. It would so, but policy dictates otherwise. They are not a sufficient object to engage the serious attention of the great powers, especially those who can awe them into terms by the voice of their thunder, or purchase them at half the expence of a war. The small states which suffer their ravages are enervated by effeminacy, cramped by oppression, terrified by cruelty or destitute of resources. The greater have

cheerfully seen these little victims consumed, which would otherwise have been impediments to their commerce. But the time is coming, and now is, when these sources of plunder will be cut off. The astonishing progress of the combined forces in Italy leaves no doubt that those states will ultimately change their masters, and fall into hands able to protect them. Venice is already out of their reach—Genoa is said to have fallen into the hands of the combined armies. The king of the two Sicilies, through the mediation of the Grand Signior, and under the auspices of the British lords, St. Vincent and Nelson, has negociated a truce during the present war. France has no commerce exposed. Spain can defend herself by assistance of auxiliaries drawn from her mines. Portugal, though a lady, speaks with a manly tone to these pirates; she dictates terms to them under their own batteries. She has lately, on the twelfth of May, forced Tripoli to *purchase* a treaty at the expense of eleven thousand dollars, after having captured two of the Bashaw's principal corsaires. All this with only one 74, commanded by commodore Campbell. Denmark and Sweden have frigates in these seas: and Holland has no commerce here. Tunis is robbed of her prey; and is as restless as a bear robbed of her whelps. Commerce is at an end here. Plunder must be had. Where is it to be found? America presents it. But Tunis is at peace with America. *Tunis must have plunder.* Necessity has no law. A pretext is found for a declaration of war in our delinquency, our delay in sending out the stipulated regalia; and the commerce of America in this sea will fall the victim to the rapacity of these starving robbers. Europe will be something more than an idle spectator of the scene. Europe will participate in the joy of the event. I am not amusing myself with idle speculations. Nor does it require a *second sight* to perceive this tendency of things. I lately thought policy would dictate otherwise during the war with

France. Observation has pursuaded me that Tunis is reluctant at fighting France, and that the regency wishes, if possible, to cultivate a secret understanding with the republic.

It seems highly probable that the United States will soon become chief carriers into the Mediterranean; or that they will at least have their share of this trade. Our peaceable situation, vicinity to the islands, the enterprize of our navigators, and the great advantages that offer here, all promise and encourage it. Europe will see a rival accumulating wealth and power in the west by this monopoly. Jealousy and envy will conspire with national interest to procure the sentence against us, *Delenda est Carthago!* But this must be done by intrigue, by assassination. These pirates present themselves as suitable instruments of this policy. They are suffered in existence for no other purpose but to be thus used. Peace and war with them are articles of commerce; and they may be set on or bought off by the highest bidder. The nations, who may find occasion to use them to check our commerce, have little more to do than to paint to them the certain advantages which would result from making war upon it: to paint the number, value and defenceless situation of our merchantmen in this sea: and, if occasion should require, to add by way of stimulus regalia of ammunition. Who among our friends would scruple to use these means? I wish avarice may find its limits here. I wish I could persuade myself that the rival nations of Europe, whom *conquest* will exhaust at home, will not aim to fix their talons on flourishing America. I wish I could think better of mankind: but the age in which I live has already furnished too many examples of this depraved policy, this cruel intrigue, of which America has been the subject, without the ability to detect, or power to oppose its influence, not to establish the suspicion.

I will here take the liberty to suggest that there is an impropriety in granting money for Barbary with

open galleries ; for, being published in Europe, European agents here are instructed to inform the Beys of these appropriations, or they do it without instructions ; which tends to enhance their demands and embarrass our negociations. This must be the case, for the Beys do not read, yet they know perfectly well the amount of these appropriations. It is only pursuing a uniform policy. Is England less interested or less solicitous at this moment in prohibiting the carrying of American goods in American bottoms to these important places of commerce, than she was in 1660 ?

An English Captain from Mahon, a few days since, was heard to say, in the British consular house, that eighty American ships had already passed the straits this spring. The Consul, in a transport of astonishment, exclaimed, " By God we must put a check to these people ; they are ruining all our commerce here and in the East Indies !"

Would a *directory* of France less than a Lewis the XIV. be solicitous to erect an *Algiers,* if there were not one already on this coast ?

But, independent of European intrigue, it would undoubtedly be to the interest of this regency to break with us, and they undoubtedly know it.

The game of the Mediterranean Christians wrested from them by the more mighty hunters of the North and East, what have they for one hundred and twenty blood hounds, which now lie kenneled in their ports, to be employed about ? They must be let loose upon somebody. They already scent our merchantmen. And finding the least plausible pretext, they will be loosed to the chase. If then our stipulations be not punctually observed, where is the guarantee of our safety ? Shall we rely on treaty compact ? Treaties are dead languages with these regencies. Was it not stipulated that one year should be allowed to the French to remove with their effects ? Is not their Consul, and are not his fellow citizens, slaves ? We cannot place any reliance in

their *good faith*. Can humanity move them? Why should we expect from inveterate pirates, virtues seldom practised among civilized and christian nations? Have we the vanity to believe they are afraid of us? What should have produced this impulse? They have seen nothing here to excite terror but the little Miss Sophia disguised in men's clothes. The poor thing excited pity rather than alarm. When I observed to the Bey at one of our interviews, that we had once *whipped the English*, he shrewdly asked whether *we* did it or whether the *French* did it *for us*? As I have before said, nothing will prevent us from being bloodsucked by this daughter of the horse leach except formidable force, faithful fulfilment of our stipulations or further sacrifices.

Whatever shall be resolved upon, should be expeditiously prosecuted. Otherwise we shall experience the evils which I have predicted and which I believe are now projecting. I am at this moment convinced that it was with a view of finding pretext for a war, that the Bey and his ministers labored with so much perseverance to dragoon or manoeuver me into a promise of regalia of jewels and a cruiser. It is my decided opinion that unless something shall appear for us before the first of February, the die will be cast against us, and a sweep made among our merchantmen. I wish my alarm may prove the child of timidity. But since from arguments already given, it has taken possession of my belief, I cannot forbear my importunity on a subject of so much importance. We owe our peace at this moment to the victory of Lord Nelson.

I submitted my opinion by Captain Geddes, that a small cruiser of eighteen or twenty guns would be well given. I am still of that opinion, in case a force be not sent out. I have before said that here is no access to these courts without paving the way with gold or cannon balls. Humanity condemns the policy of putting arms into the hands of these mad men. But we are not singular in this policy. Be-

sides considering the intrigues of our rivals here, we ought perhaps to feel no remorse on this score other than what the danger of those arms being turned against ourselves should produce. I have also advanced my opinion that a respectable, armed force in this sea would be among the best precautions against a preditory war. How often is the maxim repeated in America, "to preserve peace, be prepared for war?" But how should this preparation be productive of its object, if the world are ignorant of it? If this precaution be necessary to preserve peace among civilized nations, how much more so among savages who have no restraint but fear? Having never seen the *quiver* they have no desire for the *olive branch*. Our language to them should be the language of the gospel: "I have this day set before you life and death, choose you which you will." Without a language like this, and an attitude to support it, to think of reciprocity is idle, since here are no commercial interests to induce it. And to send an agent with presents in his hands to talk of friendship, honor and national justice is like decking a woman with jewels and sending her into a forest to hold imparlance with a highwayman.

Were I to dictate measures to the United States, they would read thus. "Send out the *stipulated regalia*: for, being stipulated, it is become a debt. Accompany it with a *respectable* force; and under our guns, make the tender on the legal principles of a tender; that, if refused, it should annul the obligation. After this act of *justice* is performed, if the president should think proper to offer something conciliatory, something to "turn away wrath," let it be done gratuitously, and in such a manner as not only to confer an obligation, but to impose a sense of it also. These measures I do believe necessary precautions. *But they will be attended with expence.* Let my fellow citizens be persuaded, before conviction shall force the belief, that this is an expence which must one day be submitted to. Wisdom would

provide for it before we shall be *fraternally squeezed* into the measure ; before we incur the expence of redeeming two or three hundred captives from slavery at three or four hundred dollars each, exclusive of the loss of twenty or thirty merchantmen.

The citizens of the United States, jealous of their liberty, and tenacious of their property, are reluctant, or at least slow, to secure by due guards what they are most desirous to have secured. If the ravages of the present European war have not convinced them that a defenceless position invites insult, they may with a little more patience have additional evidence of this truth. But to me it is now apparent that little less than sacrifices equivalent to the expence of a war will long secure our property on these seas, unless they will at least go to the voluntary expence of sending out a hangman and erecting a gallows in sight of these robbers.

These familiar remarks and reflections in an official communication I know are out of order, and for the department of state, which I believe has long since anticipated them, wholly unnecessary. But as they arise out of observations taken on the spot, it is not unreasonable to suppose they may make some impression on minds not accustomed to be exercised with this subject. For this reason they are annexed to the report which duty requires of me : and for this reason it is hoped they may be considered veniable if not in order. * * * * *

Speaking the other day with the Swedish Consul, who has been twenty years in this regency, respecting the *usances* exacted of the nations, and mentioning the Bey's demands from the United States, he said, "All nations, in making and concluding a treaty of peace, make large presents ; otherwise the most frivolous thing would be made a pretext for new demands or for invalidating the treaty. Beside this, the Bey would perhaps once in twenty years demand a present. He has lately demanded of Sweden regalia of plank, timber and tar, part of

which has been sent out, the other is daily expected. But," continued he, " if England, who has been two hundred years at peace with this regency, should give twelve thousand pounds sterling on sending out a *new* Consul, it is not surprizing that much more should be expected from a great nation on negociating a treaty and *establishing* a Consul."

Whoever has read the books of the *Old Testament*, or elsewhere learned the manners and customs of the ancient Jews and other eastern nations, may form some idea of these people. Those ancient religious rites, marriage ceremonies, ablutions, domestic habits and even agricultural management, (which probably must have descended from the ancient Egyptians,) are preserved here with little deviation, and less improvement. But no custom of the ancients seems more minutely preserved than that of giving and receiving presents. This custom seems to have been very ancient, not only on the reception of an Ambassador, but also on the meeting of friends, or formal visits. The Queen of Sheba, on a visit to Solomon, is said to have brought a present, the gold of which is estimated by Dean Prideaux at 864,000*l.* sterling. Few I believe are the instances recorded in ancient history, sacred or profane, of a prince or an ambassador meeting a prince with propositions of a negociation, without preluding the business with a present. Hence David : " a gift in secret pacifieth anger, and a reward in the bosom strong wrath." What is now considered in Europe and America *corruption*, was then no more than a matter of course : and is now thus received by the descendents of the eastern nations. The Sapitapa informed me that when he went on an embassy to the Grand Signior, about two years ago, he carried with him a present in jewels valued at 500,000 dollars of Spain : and that, finding this inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended, he used his *discretion* in procuring the deficiency at great additional expence. He added, that, as the measure procured the object of

his mission, his court approved his conduct. This story he gave as authority to govern my conduct with his master. It proved however the existence of the custom with these nations in their negociations with each other. But equivalent returns are generally made in these cases. They have then imposed on christians the custom of *giving*, without receiving: And christians have been stupid enough to let it become, *usance*, law of nations, here: and Americans must submit to it: or arm to resist it. It is now more peculiarly necessary, because, in yielding to the *custom*, we have acceded to the *law*. We began wrong: that is, we deviated from right in suspending the fitting out of the five frigates to enter upon a negociation with Algiers. Had our ambassador held in his right hand a lighted match, and in his left the project of a treaty, Algiers would have *blustered*, and fretted to, but she would have been less exorbitant. And her accomplices, Tunis and Tripoli, would have been awed into terms. But regrets are useless: we have now only to make the best of a bad bargain.

With great respect,
Sir, your most obedient
Servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

Hon. TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary of State.

EXTRACTS, TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I have yet mentioned nothing of further attempts of a cash payment in lieu of the maritime and military stores, because no well grounded hopes were entertained of success, and because the result of projects some time since in operation were not known.

Interest was making with the governor of Porto Farina and the Sapitapa, to influence the Bey into the measure, and the prospect was considered not

wholly desperate though not flattering. I had assured the Sapitapa, that, if he would procure a final settlement and discharge of all demands for any sum short of ninety thousand dollars he should be entitled to receive ten thousand dollars promptly in consideration of his good offices. He seemed much inclined to the *argument.*

On the 28th ult. he gave a dinner at his garden. Present, the English and Imperial Consuls, the Portuguese and Sicilian ambassadors and the American agent, besides several principal Turks. In the morning of this day I took the opportunity to obtain his decided opinion relative to the cash substitute. He gave it that *the project was not feasible* : said that the Bey had purchased, and was purchasing, all the ammunition he could procure : that he had sent vessels to Trieste, Mahon and Spain, for maritime and military stores, such as he expected from America, without being able to procure them. That he was sending to Gibralter and England with the same views : That the delinquency of the United States had occasioned great disappointment; particularly so at the present crisis. It had operated to retard, and indeed to defeat, plans of national defence and enterprise, the entire execution of which depended on these munitions of war. He was authorized again to declare that no sum of money would be considered an equivalent to the regalia. He hoped, if the timber could not be procured immediately, (for I told him it was yet growing on the sources of our rivers,) that the guns, ammunition, pitch, tar, rosin, cordage and such other articles as are to be found in our magazines would be forwarded without delay.

It is worthy of remark here that while we were at dinner a body of Turks came armed to the garden, and even into the court yard, and demanded money, alledging that the *government having made peace with every body had reduced them to famine ; but they were resolved not to starve* ! This circumstance

confirms the opinion heretofore advanced that they 'must be let loose upon some body.'

On the 29th, the Portuguese and Sicilian ambassadors embarked for their respective courts; the former having concluded a truce with this regency for three years, the latter during the present war in Europe. This raised a new spectre of alarm to my vision. What now is to block the corsaires without the Straits? What now shall hinder them from cruising from the Cape of Good Hope to the Orkney islands? England is in a kind of alliance with them; and France will not oppose their outrage against Americans. I resolved therefore once more to see the Bey and push, if possible, the project of a cash payment: accordingly, on the 4th of July I waited on him at his palace, and requested him to state what sum of money would satisfy his claims and cancel all his demands? He laconically answered "No sum whatever. You need not think more of it." He observed that his minister had communicated to him my proposals on this subject, and had received his instructions to give me a conclusive and final answer to them, which he presumed had been done. I said the minister had made the communication, but as he was daily lessening the number of his enemies, and of course diminishing the necessity of these munitions of war, I hoped it would produce motives to dispense with them for a cash equivalent: but as he insisted on the stipulated articles, I hoped he would consider the impediments which might retard their arrival and would prolong the time. He said it would be early enough to enter upon this subject after the given time shall have expired.

I now consider that my ultimatum, agreeably to instructions, has been proposed in a manner best calculated to insure success, but finally rejected. It remains with the exertions of the United States to preserve the peace. Every thing conspires to confirm my suspicion that the regency does not wish it, and that the commerce of the United States is

marked out as the victim of Tunissian piracy. I thought I had exhausted the subject of this suspicion in my last letter, but new evidence appears to support it. The Spaniards are individually intriguing to effect it, that they may avert the storm which lowers upon them; and the secret agency of the French is thrown into this scale of influence. Should the Republic obtain a separate peace with the Ottoman empire, which is projecting, the event is most certain, unless, by our own means, we can counteract the plot: for the Jews, who have *loved us dearly hitherto*, having much more depending with the French than with the United States, will withdraw their *friendly offices* from us. Besides, their percents on loans and brokerage and their profits as bankers diminishing, they may calculate a more profitable speculation on American prizes than American commissions: for, individually and collectively, they are—Jews!

To the menaces of war I have hitherto feigned a voice of indifference, and, I believe, have impressed a conviction of the *truth* of this disposition in my government. But in this I have had to effect an entire revolution of sentiment; for the abject cameleon who preceded me held no language but that of humility and supplication. Policy dictated this departure from his example, and the opinion is deeply impressed in my mind that policy will dictate to the United States to support me in this position, unless they have reasons for relapsing into disgrace here, and for submitting to be plundered.

Should an armed force accompany the regalia into this sea, it should take the appearance of a convoy. This would appreciate the merit of our exertions, and, without menace, will have the effect of chastisement. But if the Bey should persist in his demand of Jewels, and if there be no alternative but an equivalent or a rupture, how am I to govern myself?

Tunis, 8th August, 1799.

On 30th and 31st ultimo, the Bey called upon all the consuls of the *tributary* nations, (among them the *American!*) and demanded of their courts, through them, immediate supplies of naval stores. Of me he had the modesty only to demand that I, without delay, should charter a ship for America to bring out the naval stores. Said, by a report of his Admiral, governor of Porto Farina, and of his naval constructor, he was informed, that he had not a single plank nor a spar in his magazines. I consumed three days at the palace on the affair, and left the Bey where he started.

Nothing can be added to the communications heretofore made to inforce the necessity of expedition in forwarding the regalia. I have prevailed on the Bey to forbear till the first of January, and have insisted on the impossibility of returns from America till February. The earliest information of the provision, &c. making, may be useful to me. I have uniformly found the Bey a reasonable and indeed accommodating man. But the Sapitapa—owns corsaires, and Famin is his—slave!

Tunis, 6th Oct. 1799.

The Bey of Tunis still holds an imperious tone. I can add little on this subject to the communications already forwarded, but a confirmation that nothing will secure our peace here but implicit concessions to all the demands of the regency, or formidable resistance. Having resolved to know whether any relaxation of the Bey's claims could, by any means, be obtained, I waited on him in his palace yesterday, and proposed that he should receive in lieu of the jewels demanded, the amount of ten thousand dollars in such articles as he should chuse to commission for from England. He answered that *he was not a merchant: he knew nothing of the value of the regalia;* they were the USANCE; and he should neither *abate nor commute.*

The fact is, the regalia have been stipulated by the proper agent of the United States, and the government have no alternative but to ratify the act or go to war. The first of January is declared to be the ultimate moment of forbearance for the maritime and military regalia: the jewels three months later. This being the situation of our affairs here, I have thought prudent to communicate a caution to the different Consuls in the Mediterranean: it may also be proper to cause the communication to be made public in the United States.

The project of a war with Spain has evaporated. A secret accommodation between the Consul and the Bey has reconciled the latter. France, though at war, is not less secure in her intrigues than her strength. The king of the two Sicilies has a truce. The other Italian states and Malta have foreign protection. There is not then upon all the coast of the Mediterranean a single corsaire in which the vulture of Tunis can fix his talons. He views his prey in the west. My suspicions of the hostile disposition of this regency towards the United States are supported by testimony which renders the fact unequivocal. The late Ambassador from this to Algiers was charged to intimate to the Dey, that "the Bey, having limited the period of his forbearance with the United States to six months from the departure of their Agent's dispatches, trusts the Dey would not interfere, if, after the lapse of said period, in case of failure on the part of the United States, he should adopt strong measures." This is said to have excited some agitation at that court, and to have drawn from the Dey professions of his friendship towards us: but nothing appears in his dispositions to evidence any opposition to the measure. When one sound argument can be introduced founded in facts, or in the interest or *good faith* of the Dey of Algiers, to induce his effectual interference in behalf of the United States, then let us rely on this interference: but if facts, no less than circumstances, go to prove the contrary, let

us no longer be amused. Is not Algiers allied with Tunis by blood, religion, *honor, (there is honor among thieves,)* and by the closer ties of interest? The same instant that the ambassador made this communication he put into the hands of the Dey a present, valued in Tunis at thirty thousand and seven hundred dollars; being the amount of the annual tribute and extraordinary regalia. This was, of itself, sufficient to compose the soul of the *Potent Beast* at that moment, if he had seen the whole Christian world inveloped in destruction. But the Dey dares not use his influence for us if disposed. What! Turk betray the interest of Turk. Mussulman cut the throat of Mussulman; and pirate oppose the interest of allied pirate, to aid the interest of infidels, dogs, slaves! for his life he dares not! He would see revenge and death brandished against him on the blade of every Mussulman's otagan. I affirm that he has no serious inclination to aid our measures here. It is ascertained that the *important letters*, put into the hands of Mr. Cathcart and myself to insure the success of our negociation here and at Tripoli, were merely letters of civility and calculated to amuse us. What else did they avail? * * * * *

On the 20th September, Hassen Alzeri was strangled by the Bey! This young prince was the descendant in the third degree in the right line from the predecessor of the father of the present Bey. He had been confined from infancy in Algiers, until about seven years ago, when he made his escape hither by the agency of the Bey, under the appearance of friendship; but more probably to acquire a more immediate ascendency over his life and fortune. The soldiers who were ordered to seize him durst not approach him. He threw away his arms and said, *advance! What alarms you?* They conducted him to the place of execution. The mutes approached him with caution. *Execute your orders, cowards!* said he; and snatching the cord from their hands and placing it about his neck, and

putting his hands behind him, ordered them to tie him. Looking upon his friends, who stood about him, he said; *If I have wronged you, forgive me: I go to the tomb of my fathers*; and was strangled. He was conducted in a cart to that tomb without a single follower. About the same time a slave was bastinadoed to death in the palace. *Hamuda Bashaw* is considered a mild prince. * * * * *

The special reasons which induced Doctor Shaw to leave the Sophia, I leave to him to detail. They were such as I considered would at least justify me in countenancing the measure; especially as it appeared to be the result of an arrangement made by Captain Geddes himself, and founded in a settled animosity between the officers of the brig, and the Doctor. I have continued his pay agreeably to his appointment up to the 21st of August last; and have given him reason to expect it to be continued until he shall have arrived at the seat of government, and shall have delivered these dispatches with which he is charged. My inducements for sending him at this moment, and in this manner, to America, are to communicate to government certain and correct information of the existing state of affairs here, and to use the measure as an argument for further forbearance, if necessary. I believe the step dictated by the best policy, under existing circumstances; hope it may receive the approbation of government, and produce the intended effects. It has the concurrence of the Consul at Algiers in the following words. "I much approve of all you have done relative to forwarding Doctor Shaw: I hope it will facilitate the stipulations." Mr. Shaw has talents and integrity which may be rendered very useful to the public and the world, if suitably patronized.

6th Dec. 1799.

With infinite satisfaction I have the honor to inform you that within a few days our affairs have assumed a new and promising aspect. Since the de-

parture of Doctor Shaw for America on the 17th October, I have paid court to the vanity and avarice (predominant passions) of the Sapitapa ; and have at length persuaded him, what is undoubtedly true, that he would find his real interest more secure in a commercial intercourse than in a war with the United States ; and that Americans would be his safest carriers to Spain, where he has opened an extensive commerce, the ships of all other nations being interrupted either by the belligerent powers of Europe or by the corsaires of Algiers. I observed to him that the conditions of these advantages were known to him ; that I had, during the short time of my residence here, received propositions from the American consul at Leghorn and Barcelona, to introduce a trade here ; and also applications from two American masters of vessels, to get them freight here : in reply to which I had stated to them the articles of our treaty : since which I had heard no more on the subject. It was only necessary to inform my countrymen that they were not equally respected here with other nations, to determine them against coming here, let the considerations of individual profit be what they would. He now experienced the truth of what I eight months ago declared to him ; that no American merchantman would ever enter a port of Tunis, unless compelled, until they should be informed that the terms of our treaty were more favorable.

The Sapitapa acknowledged a propriety in my observations ; expressed an earnest desire to employ Americans as carriers to Spain ; and intimated his opinion, that if the regalia arrived in season, there would then be no impediment to an arrangement of our affairs more satisfactorily. He promised to open the subject to the Bey, and to give it his support.—He entered very candidly into a detail of the causes which had embarrassed our negociations here, which shall appear at large on my journal, but which may be reduced here to two words, *French intrigue* and *Jewish infidelity*.

I saw the Bey this morning, and have his promise for forbearance sixty days. In the mean time, it is hoped, we may have arrivals from America. Famin has tried to insinuate that the government of the United States have no serious intentions of fulfilling their engagements with Tunis. He has not succeeded.—That slave has been a thorn in my side. But he has now no influence at court. The Bey's family physician informed me, a few days since at dinner with me, that the extraordinary demand for jewels was actually projected by him, (Famin) and stipulated after my arrival at Tunis. That the Sapitapa hesitated to introduce it, as it had not been stated in any of his former communications: and that Famin told him not to hesitate, he (Famin) could find document to support the demand. I have uniformly treated this *French pirate* with polite attention, taking care to keep the commanding grounds, till I have finally defeated all his projects of mischief: and if nothing interfere with my present arrangements, have now a flattering prospect af ultimately terminating our affairs with this Regency, more favorably to the interests of the United States, and more conformably to the instructions of the government.

Three things have operated to produce this change of projects at court, 1. Doct. Shaw's departure to America; 2. the Bey's pursuasion that the United States after obtaining a peace with France, will send a fleet into this sea; 3. The Sapitapa's desire to employ American carriers.

EXTRACTS from Mr. EATON'S *Journal*.

May 4th. The Sophia, Captain Henry Geddes, sailed for America.

☞ Mustapha Coggea, the Prime Minister, and the Sapitapa, keeper of the great Seal, are both slaves to the regency of Tunis, were brought from Georgia in Asia, and sold for money. The latter

was purchased by the Governor of Ifax, and remained in his house till the Bey was *smitten with his charms*, and demanded him of his master. They became renegados at an early period. The former is a brave, discerning, humane old man, of course generous of heart and liberal of sentiment: the latter a sly, designing, avaricious beast, and of course bigoted.

On their decease the property of both escheats to the Bey.

14*th. Feast of Biram.* All the consuls visited the Bey except the American, who excused himself, having three days before fallen from a horse and lamed himself in the—*will!*

Last evening the governor of Porto Farina renewed his application for a present, through a friend; intimated that all nations paid him this compliment on sending out a new consul. Delicacy hindered his personal application. He is a man of the first influence among Tunissian governors. * * *

20*th. Walked* to Carthage: sat off at 6, A. M. and arrived half past eight. Rambled among the ruins till half past twelve, and arrived in Tunis at 4, P. M. Mercury stood at 96. The Moors were reaping their corn. * * * * *

June 21*st.* The old Count Porcela, Sardinian Ambassador, concluded a stipulation for the payment of a redemption of the captives of St. Piere, and all the Christian Consuls were desired to be present to witness the contract. I had for a number of days been afflicted with an affection in my head which had induced me to wear, under my hat, a Turkish cap made of fine wool died red. On entering the porch of the palace, I was informed that I could not be admitted to the presence of the Bey with this cover. I stated my reasons for wearing it. He returned for answer that no ambassador ever came before him covered; and as it was the *usance* of the palace, if I could dispense with it till I had passed the usual ceremonial salute, I might immediately put it on again. I a-

greed. But the Sapitapa, availing of this opportunity to give himself consequence, sent me word that it was not customary for Consuls to appear before *him* neither *covered*. I replied, that as usual I should take off my *hat;* but did not feel inclined to take off my *cap*, as it was inconvenient. Some intermediate imparlance took place. We both maintained our positions; till he sent me word that if I would not concede the point I could not see him. By G**, I will not see him! I am not come hither to be insulted by the Sapitapa. When he wishes to see me he will send for me, said I, and bowing apology to the consuls, turned on my heels, walked to my carriage, mounted and ordered the Moor to drive off.

This, however trifling, was a subject of much speculation to the Consuls. Those who had the misfortune to be born in the country, gazed with astonishment. The others stifled a laugh. "Who is this American?" said the Sapitapa. "You must know," said the British Consul, "that he is a representative of an independent and a brave nation, *who descended from the English*, and you will do well to be reconciled to him."

27*th*. On the 27th, I received a polite invitation to dine with the Sapitapa at his garden, in company with the English and Dutch Consuls, the Portuguese and Sicilian ambassadors, the Bey's principal physician, and a number of principal Turks. A thing which very seldom happens.

29*th*. Received a letter from the palace expressing the Bey's wish to see me there tomorrow morning early.

30*th*. Five in the morning, at the palace. The Bey demanded that I should immediately charter a vessel to the United States, to expedite out the stores; said he had not a spar nor a plank in his magazines; recapitulated the old song of grievance and delay; and insisted on this measure with a tone of imperiousness.

In a very few words I convinced him that the measure was impracticable. He shewed much agitation; doubted the sincerity of our government, and suspected in them an intention of evasion; said three months of the time of forbearance had already elapsed; and, counting with his fingers, said, "November! If you will not comply with my demand, and the regalia do not appear by the first of November, I shall take steps to recover for myself suitable damages for the disappointment." I addressed his reason, for he is really a very reasonable man, stated the date of the Sophia's departure from Algiers, the rout she took, and the probable time of the voyage; and pledged myself that the regalia would be forwarded without delay. He seemed dissatisfied. A project presented. I proposed taking a passage myself to America to hurry on the stores; imagining that if once off, he could not honorably use violence against us till he should at least hear from me. The stratagem succeeded. He saw not the object; closed with the plan; and I engaged to embark in five days.

July 31*st.* At the palace. Made arrangements for the management of our affairs, and announced Dr. Shaw as charged.—Took leave.

August 1*st.* Five, A. M. at the palace. After much interlocutory conversation, the Bey intimated doubts of the propriety of proceeding on the voyage; and with, much fairness, stated the objections which suggested themselves: thought, on the whole, it would be better to suspend the enterprize till I should hear from America: and agreed to wait patiently till the first of January. * * * * *

If the United States persist in *resignation and passive obedience*, they will find that "Qui se fait brebis le loup le mange." He who makes himself a sheep must expect to be devoured by the wolf.

August 5th. The Tunissians have little or no litigation, because they have no *attornies* among them.

They have no domestic scandal and neighborhood bickering, because they shut up their women.

Their young men are muscular, athletic, hale and enterprizing, because they have no access to inebriation and venery.

Their married men are inert and domestic, being permitted a plurality of wives they are always relaxed and forever jealous : and, being in the perpetual habit of smoking tobacco, they have an eternal propensity to sleep.

Considered as a nation, they are deplorably wretched, because they have no property in the soil to inspire an ambition to cultivate it. They are abject slaves to the despotism of their government : and they are humiliated by tyranny the worst of all tyrannies, the despotism of priestcraft. They live in more solemn fear of the frowns of a bigot who has been dead and rotten above a thousand years, than of the living despot whose frown would cost them their lives.

Their manners are simple, their living temperate, and their conversation generally without dissimulation. They have no midnight revels ; no assaults and batteries, and very seldom assassinations. The deplorable wretchedness which always attaches itself to seduction, and which so frequently wounds the eye of sensibility in every village in the Christian world, is unknown here : because they imprison their girls.

Maxims of HAMUDA BASHAW, BEY of Tunis, *(worthy a Christian Prince.)*

Never judge the cause of a *friend :* for, however just, suspicion will pronounce it partiality !

Have no intimacy with the great men of the kingdom, lest they gain an ascendency over the mind, and divert the attention from the duties of kindness and equity towards the common subject.

Suffer no fees to be received for administration of justice ; lest avaricious men should devise means to make a commerce of it.

Admit no advocates, because simple statements generally lead to the clearest truths. * * * *

11*th*. Some good friend had informed the Bey that I had an elegant Grecian mirror in my house. To day he sent a request for it, pretending that he wanted it for the cabin of his pleasure boat, now about to be launched. So it is. If the Consuls have a good piece of furniture, or any other good thing which strikes with the Bey's fancy, he never hesitates to ask for it : and they have no alternative but to give it. They have suffered this to become *usance* also.

12*th*. Sent the Bey the mirror.

The following copy of a Letter from Admiral NELSON, *procured by Mr.* CATHCART *and sent to* EATON, *though not connected with the present subject, is a curiosity well worth preservation and perusal.*

Vanguard, Palermo, April 28th, 1799.

SIR,

WHEN I received your Highness's letter by Capt. Hardy, of the Vanguard, I was rejoiced to find that you had renounced the treaty you had imprudently entered into with some of the emissaries of General Buonaparte, that man of blood, that despoiler of the weak, that enemy of all good Mussulmen ; for like Satan he only flatters that he may the more easily destroy. And it is true that since the year 1789, all Frenchmen are exactly of the same disposition. I had sent your letter to the great King my master ; I had done the same to the grand Signior ; for I never believed that your highness would say a word that was not most strictly true ; a *lie* is impossible for a true *Mussulman* to tell ; at least, I had always believed so. What then must have been my astonishment, to have heard from his Britanic Majesty's Consul General, Mr. Lucas, that, the moment the Vanguard sailed, the French Consul and all the French were liberated ;

and also the French vessels in port allowed to fit for sea; and one, to my knowledge, had sailed for Malta. Why will your highness be thus led astray by evil counsellors, who can have no other object in view, but your ruin.

Your highness knows that although a powerful squadron of Portuguese ships has been since last August under my command; that by every means in my power, they have been prevented from cruising against the ships of your highness, or from approaching your coast.

It is now my duty to speak out, and not to be misunderstood. That Nelson, who has hitherto kept your powerful enemy from destroying you, *can* and *will* let them loose upon you, unless the following terms are, in *two hours*, complied with: viz. that the French Consul and Vice Consul, and every Frenchman, are delivered on board her most faithful Majesty's ship Alphonso, to Commodore Campbell, in two hours from Mr. Lucas setting his foot on shore.

That hostages are also sent on board to remain till every Frenchman in the state of Tripoli shall be sent off, which shall not exceed four days. N. B. There shall be no reservation or trick about the French Consul at Tripoli: he shall be on board in two hours from the demand being made.

All French vessels, or vessels pretended to be taken from the French, shall be destroyed in two hours. These terms complied with, Commodore Campbell will, as he has done upon the passage, refrain from taking your vessels, until his arrival at Palermo. If these proper terms are not complied with, I can no longer prevent the ships of her most faithful Majesty from acting with vigor against your highness.

Your highness will, without difficulty, write me a letter, the substance of which will be dictated by Mr. Lucas: you will also, as a convincing proof of your detestation of the evil councils which have been

given you by Hamet Rais, your Capt. of the Port, either cause him to be delivered to Commodore Campbell, that I may send him to Constantinople, or *dispose* of him in such a manner that he may forever be incapable of giving your highness any advice; for his heart is so black that I am informed he can give you no good.

Your highness will, I am confident, approve of the open and unreserved manner of this letter, and consider it as a proof of the honest, upright intentions of the great MONARCH whom I have the honor of serving; and that it comes from your highness's

Most attached
and faithful Servant,
(Signed) NELSON.

His HIGHNESS *the*
BASHAW *of Tripoli.*

Dec. 15th, 1799.

TO MR. PICKERING.

On the 6th instant I had the honor to inform you of the more favorable prospect of our affairs. I now confirm that information. The principal cause of which is the interest which the Sapitapa views in his future employment of American bottoms to carry for him to Spain, all others of neutral powers being in danger from the Algerines. This circumstance promises an issue of our negociations corresponding with the wishes of our government, provided the regalia arrive before a negociation for a peace be set on foot in Europe; in which case we shall have to combat the whole commercial influence of France.

The Bey's Chamberlain dined with me. After plying him plentifully with wine he ran over the commencement and progress of the American affairs. Said, after my arrival at Biserte, Famin was constantly at Bardo, importuning the Bey to refuse me an audience, stating the infidelity and ingratitude of the United States in general, and particularly as it

respected his nation and himself personally ; insinuating that this innovation upon their establishment made here, of a Consul, was undoubtedly aiming at some evasion of fulfilling the engagements stipulated by treaty ; and urging the services he had rendered and was always ready to render his Excellency. The Sapitapa was in favor of Famin. The old Minister Mustapha Coggea, was against the measure. The Bey balanced two or three days ; and then answered Famin : " You have told me repeatedly that you were appointed by the Prince of America his Consul General near me, and that by the first arrivals you should receive your credentials : Instead of this you now inform me that America has deceitfully supplanted you, and their proper Consul is now in one of my ports ; and you demand of me to avenge your wrong by refusing this agent a hearing. I do not know but all you have told me is true ; but I am apprehensive you have not told me *all* that is true : this Consul at least may throw light in my path ; and it will be early enough to send him back when I shall have examined whether he be the messenger of good or of evil. At any rate you connot be accredited any longer as the representative of that nation, unless you produce the credentials which you have so often assured me were made out for you."

Famin then offered the Sapitapa to double the rent of his house, if he would consent to let him *cut down the American* flag and remain in it. The Sapitapa inclined both towards Famin and the rent : but his ambition of having the American flag flying upon his house, overcame his avarice and his friendship.

After my arrival, Famin took every occasion of my absence from Bardo, to be there ; and to inforce the idea of the infidelity of the United States. Said they were the dupes of Algiers ; that their Consul was nothing but a vice Consul, subject to the Consul general at Algiers, and only placed here as a spy : that the Consul general was no other than a slave to the Dey of Algiers, who merited rather to be consid-

ered an instrument of the Dey than a foreign minister: and that he had actually consigned the vice Consul here to Bradi, the Algerine Vickil.

To which the Bey answered, "Patience! time proves all things. I must receive the proper minister of the American Prince."

This chamberlain is the *humble friend* of the Bey, who has been twenty two years in this service; and, though his freedom has been given him, he prefers his place to returning to Europe. He is harmless, friendly, and generally silent: but is vulnerable in his head!

Jan. 1st, 1800.

On the 27th December, I received a letter from Mr. O'Brien, inclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. Smith, at Lisbon, which stated that the frigates, United States and Constitution, were about to sail for the Mediterranean in August last; and that they were probably to have in charge *the articles intended for the Regencies.* This information I immediately communicated to the Bey; adding, that he should be satisfied that the regalia were under way: hoped it would arrive in January.

Feb. 1st, 1800.

Sir,

Since informing the Bey, by the authority of Mr. Smith's letter to Capt. O'Brien, that the *articles intended for the regency* of Tunis were under way, I have been only once at the palace. This audience was consumed in talking of the length of the voyage, inclemency of the season, and inconstancy of the winds.

I have no doubt of amusing the Bey until certain intelligence arrive concerning the expected regalia; provided this information arrive before the spring season invite the corsairs to sea.

March 1st, 1800.

My last audience with the Sapitapa assured him that our vessels, destined for the regencies, were put in quarantine at Lisbon. I know not what to make

my dernier resort. This is an anxious moment. A storm is gathering. Nothing can be added to the voluminous reports already made on this subject. Unless something appear for us, a short time will prove that my conjectures have been but too accurate and my alarms but too well grounded. It is known at the palace that there are forty American merchantmen at anchor in the port of Leghorn : and seventy-four days have brought information from America of the death of the illustrious General Washington, via. Leghorn. These communications, and every other concerning us, are made by Famin to the Sapitapa. The conclusion is natural ; " the United States can as safely and as expeditiously send ships to Tunis as to Leghorn.

March 8th, 1800.

The copy of a letter to Mr. Appleton, herewith inclosed, requires no explanation. It may suggest to the department of State whether there would not be a propriety in cautioning the Consuls of the United States against too liberal a diffusion of the *privileges* of *American citizenship*. It is not impossible, however, that Alberganty, a native Italian, may be among Judge M'K--n's American citizens, as he was certainly in America, Philadelphia, in 1796, and is a blustering Jacobin.

Policy has induced me to grant Famin a letter of protection ; but I have since obtained proofs so incontrovertible of his fraudulent negociation ; and have such evidence of his persevering intrigues to defeat the success of our measures with this regency ; that, the moment our affairs will admit of the step, I will withdraw that protection, denounce him at the palace, and to the world. This will arrest the progress of his mischief as an American citizen, and will prevent his doing further injuries to us in a character which has attached to him more credit than his personal merit. But it will draw upon me the full exercise of his malignity. The most which can result from it is assassination ; to execute which, I do not

d oubt his disposition, if he had courage to attempt it. A man, who could dance in the ruins, on hearing of the assassination of his principal, Robespiere, may be suspected of any thing. I am, however, at all times prepared against a ruffian. Herculais' commission was signed by Robespiere; his measures here, were dictated by the French policy of that tyrant's day: and Famin was selected, by Herculais, from among a hundred other Frenchmen, as the most suitable character to push those measures, and embarrass the United States. There lives not unhung a character more false, a knave more abandoned, nor a villain more abject, than our cidevant agent, here. Mr. Barlow's faith in Herculais, and consequent confidence in his agent here, is, perhaps, among the *inexplicable errors* to which *good men* are sometimes incident.

I waited on the Bey yesterday. He *permitted me to kiss his hand*: frowned a menace, and said not a single word to me.

Mr. Pickering to Eaton.

Department of State,
Philadelphia, Jan. 17th, 1800.

Sir,

I have reserved for a separate letter the President's determination on the subject of the Jewels demanded by the Bey of Tunis. In his letter to the President, of which I inclose you a copy, you will see that he persists in his claims: but not in terms so decided as in his conversations with you. Perhaps it may be parried, or at least reduced to one half the amount. Since you wrote, you may have ascertained what other powers, as well as Spain, have given on similar occasions. I am aware that the delay is unfavorable; but if he waits the arrival of the Hero, with her valuable cargo of naval and military stores, an earnest, besides, that the residue will come, I hope he will be softened; and that you will either do away his claim or reduce it to a small value in some

of the most conspicuous articles in his list. You will well consider how this affair may be best conducted; and act as you shall think most advantageous for the interest of the United States. It will not do to lose our peace with Tunis for the value of these presents. You suppose the estimate to be extravagant: doubtless the articles are set at the Jew prices, and that for a much less sum, they may be procured from England. If therefore, you are compelled to give the presents, secure time enough to get them in England. Some must probably be manufactured for the purpose: and the whole may require a year to be procured. In the mean time, as he wants something to be seen, a few articles, most showy, may be procured at Tunis. If he objects to the proposed delay, you can answer that the President felt a confidence, that on further reflection upon all circumstances in relation to the United States, he would relinquish the claim, and therefore did not give orders to provide the present, &c.

(Signed)
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

To WILLIAM EATON, *Esq.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO HAMOUDA PACHA, BEY OF TUNIS, THE WELL GUARDED CITY AND ABODE OF FELICITY.

I HAVE received your letter of the 30th of April 1799, answering to the 25th of the Moon Kaada, of the year of the Hegira 1213; and take this occasion to express to you my thanks for the attention shown to my Deputies, WILLIAM EATON and JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, who were charged to arrange anew with you some articles of the treaty of peace and amity between us. It gives me pleasure also that you have received Mr. EATON for the Consul of the

United States, and assured to him all the honors, distinctions and prerogatives, which the Consuls of other nations enjoy. I persuade myself that by his wise and discreet deportment he will shew himself alike worthy of your regards and of my confidence.

Nothing could be more grateful to me than the expression of your desire, that in consequence of these final arrangements, a commerce solid and lucrative, might be established ; and that Almighty God would cause to reign, between our respective nations, a firm and durable peace.

With respect to the time within which you required that the stipulated stores should be delivered, I have charged Mr. EATON to explain to you the impossibility of a compliance : and will now only observe, that of the six months proposed for that purpose, four had elapsed when your letter and the Consul's dispatches arrived : and then a pestilence, raging in some of our principal cities, by causing the inhabitants to flee to the country, and suspending business, rendered delays unavoidable. But you may rest assured, that the engagements I have made with you, in behalf of the United States, will be performed with perfect good faith ; and all the stipulated naval and military stores be delivered, with as much dispatch as the great distance of the United States, and the time necessary to procure the stores, render practicable. Your clear and eminent discernment will see the reasonableness of these observations ; and your regard to justice will give them their due weight.

With sentiments of high consideration,
I remain your good friend.

Done at Philadelphia, the 15th day of January 1800, *and of the Independence of the United States the twenty fourth year.*

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,
TIMOTHY PICKERING, *Secretary of State.*

March 31st, 1800.

To Mr. Pickering,

Sir,

ON the 24th instant I received your communications by the Sophia, and early the next morning went to the palace. After waiting some time in the antichamber, on account of the indisposition of the Bey, who had been nine days dangerously ill of a billious putrid fever, I was admitted to an audience; passed the usual formalities and retired into the chamber of the Minister, (Sapitapa.) I stated to him that I had yesterday received interesting intelligence from the government of the United States, among which was a letter from the President to the Bey; and desired to be informed when, if the Bey's health would admit, I might make a formal communication?

"Do you take us to be dupes?" said he. "You have at one time shewed us letters from your minister at Portugal, at another from your Consul general at Algiers; at another from your Consul at Leghorn: at one period your regalia were under convoy of two frigates; at another in quarantine at Lisbon; and then we are placed at our windows with our spy-glasses looking for the arrival of vessels which sail in air. We are no longer to be amused. It is not necessary that you take the trouble of a *formal* communication. I now candidly advise you, (a measure which has long since been resolved upon,) that the Corsaires* now bound on a cruise have orders to bring in Americans: and for this purpose, they are ordered to cruise off the coast of Spain and Portugal."

I began an explanation on the inaccuracy of my former communications. He interrupted me, and repeated, that the measure was resolved, and that explanations were needless.

* Three in number: two, the property of the Bey, of 26 guns each: one of the Sapitapa, of 20 guns.

I regretted that our countrymen should be set upon each other to shed blood. But, if there were no alternative; no explanation to be had: I could only lament the calamity with the sad consolation of having used my best efforts to avert it. I would however inform him, with as much candor as he appriz-ed me of the resolution, that I had, long since, placed my countrymen on their guard against this event: that our merchantmen were well armed and manned: that I would vouch for their defending themselves, for that they were not novices in war, and despised slavery. His attention was arrested. I changed my position, and took up the explanation. That the communications I had before made, were unofficial, predicated upon letters from our ministers and consuls, whose concern for the peace of their country induced them, perhaps, to place too implicit reliance upon incorrect information. This I now offered was direct from our government, including a letter from our President, addressed by his own hand to the prince of this Regency, accompanied by the treaty formally ratified, and assurances from the Prime Minister, that a large ship was now under way for Tunis, laden with naval and military stores; that these dispatches also authorized me to meet the demand of the Bey for jewels in a manner which, I hoped, would be satisfactory to him.

"It is very well! This looks a little more like truth," said the minister: "but we will not arrest the cruise. If we make captures of Americans, we will send the Christians (meaning crews) to your house; your vessels to Porto Farina; and their cargoes we will safely store. They shall be held in sequestration a given number of days, in expectation of the arrival of your regalia so much talked about; on failure of which, they shall be *good prize*."

I answered, that a step of this kind, if it went only to secure the fulfilment of our obligations, would defeat its own object: my countrymen would not yield to it without resistance: and that revenge and

blood would be the inevitable consequence of attempting it. I desired, therefore, to prevent the evils which might and most certainly would result to both countries from this project, that the Bey would see the President's letter, and hear my communications.

He paused. An English gentleman, who was with me, and to whom we are obliged, urged the *reasonableness* of my desire.

The minister, after recapitulating his detail of delays and infidelities, of which we are accused, said, "I will see my master tomorrow. The day after, if you come to Bardo (the palace) we will decide on something."

March 26th, eleven o'clock, A. M. An American ship, Camilla, Capt. Samuel Holmes, of Boston, last from Naples, came to anchor at the Goulette, addressed to Julius Cæsar Alberganty. At three, P. M. a message came from the minister, informing that the "government had occasion for the American ship now at the Goulette." I replied that the message should be answered tomorrow. In the interim, I sent the Sapitapa a piece of superfine blue cloth, and half a piece of scarlet, which I had the day before received from England, intended for my own use.

This day was employed in rendering into Italian, the President's letter to the Bey, his ratification of the treaty, and such of the communications of the Secretary of State as related to the regalia of naval and military stores, and also an extract of a letter from Mr. Appleton, relative to the effect the last clause of the 12th article of the treaty had produced in the minds of our countrymen, masters of vessels, at Leghorn.

27th. 11, A. M. At the palace. Made the above communications to the Bey. He expressed great satisfaction: seemed flattered with the President's letter; thanked God; and hoped the safe arrival of the ship; but observed, "I see nothing here about

the jewels." To which I thought proper to say: the President has directed me, as a further testimony of his friendly sentiments towards the Bashaw of Tunis, to procure a present of this kind also from England, but has limited the sum destined for the purpose, very much within the estimate annexed to the note given of the jewels. "To me," said the Bey, "the sum limited is of no import. I shall be satisfied, provided the articles come according to the note." He said nothing of the demand formerly started of a *cruiser*. And he gave leave for Capt. Holmes to take a cargo of wheat on his own account.

CIRCULAR.

Consulate of the United States,
Tunis, 10th April, 1800.

Sir,

Having at length amicably adjusted the affairs of the United States with the Bey and Regency of Tunis, I desire you will communicate this agreeable intelligence to the masters of American vessels, and others interested, who may come within the limits of your Consulate.

The principal minister of the Bey has pledged himself that the last clause of the 12th article of our treaty with this Regency, inserted by Joseph Etienne Famin, shall have the same effect with respect to American merchant vessels as the custom of all other nations at peace with Tunis has established with respect to their own, and no other. There is therefore now no danger to be apprehended from American vessels visiting this coast: perfect health prevails here.

I am, Sir, with esteem and regard,
you most obedient Servant
WILLIAM EATON.

Thomas Appleton, Esq.
American Consul at Leghorn.

May 7th, 1800.

After the storm was directed from the United States, it lowered over Naples—passed over Spain, and broke upon Denmark. * * * *

In October 1797, the Bey addressed a letter to the king of Denmark, containing the following modest article. "On account of the long *friendship* which has subsisted between us, I take the liberty to give you a commission for sundry articles of naval and military stores, as per note subjoined, which I find indispensable, to assist me in certain public works now in operation. I give you *six months* to answer this letter, and one year to forward the commission: and, remember, if we do not receive the answer and the articles in the time limited, we know *what steps to take.*"

The king of Denmark did not give this *commission* the prompt attention it required. He however ordered out a ship, laden with timber, which arrived in the summer of 1798; but it was so far short of the Bey's expectations, that he rejected the compliment altogether, even after it was unladen, and the articles have since lain, in a perishing condition, exposed to the open elements.

The projects the Bey has been meditating, and which were actually on the point of execution, against *Americans*, directed his thoughts from the Danes. The arrival of the HERO *filled his eye*; (never were such naval stores seen in Tunis.) The Neapolitan humility suspended his operations against that kingdom; Spain, about the same time sent him a *douceur*, and a number of ship builders to work in his dock yard at Porto Farina: and the cruisers are consequently let loose upon Denmark. Here is a demonstration of two facts I have before stated: that *the cruisers cannot be restrained*; and that *treaties are dead languages here*. Hence also may be inferred, that my apprehensions have been none too lively. If the Hero had miscarried, no document could have saved us until the arrival of the spring shipments.

The *stars* are beginning to acquire gravity here. I wish they may be permited to receive some lustre. It is not enough to tell that we are the descendants of the English : conviction of some kind, if it be only the construction of a ship, should be added, that we are worthy of such ancestors. Notwithstanding our present flattering prospect of our affairs, I am still of opinion it would be well to show one or two of our best frigates here. It would be better if they should have one or more Frenchmen in tow. This display would at least convince the cruisers of our ability to meet them on their own ground : and it would confirm what I have uniformly declared at court, and what has been as uniformly denied by Famin, that *it is not our weakness but our love of peace which induces the concessions we make.* It cannot be attended with great extraordinary expence, because, it is presumed, the government will not risque the residue of the regalia, upon which so much depends, to the *laws of war*, I say *laws of war*, because, if at peace ourselves with France, Tunis is not ; though it is a truth beyond a doubt that these *terrible* pirates dare not cruise against the terrible republic.

If the residue come forward safely and seasonably, and the jewels, for which I have commissioned, we may calculate on twenty or thirty years tranquility here. A trifling defect would be made a pretext for a rupture, if no impressions of fear be made with all our evidence of generosity. * * * *

May 10th. Last evening his Britanic Majesty's Consul General, Peckins Magra, Esq. at the American house, desired me to consent that he might mention me to the Duke of Portland as *charge des affairs* of the British nation in case of accident which should render the office vacant. Major Magra's declining state of health, probably, induced this step. I consented, on condition that the confidence should be reciprocal between us. To this he agreed. I hope the relation of the two governments is such as

to admit the propriety of the measure. This gentleman has been between thirty and forty years in the king's service, twelve in this regency; a man of extensive information and strict good faith. He has an English head, and an American heart.

May 11th, 1800.

Yesterday morning a Danish merchantman from Leghorn, unapprised and unsuspicious of danger, anchored at the Goulette. No sooner was the flag distinguished, than *Famin* wrote express to Bardo, (the palace) that a *Danish ship had entered.* In consequence of this early information, the Bey caused to be arrested, the Master and people, before they could weigh anchor and escape.

Same day a Danish ship, laden with coffee, sugar and other West India produce, was sent into Biserte.

Last evening his Danish Majesty's Consul General, Lewis Hammekin, Esq. at the American house, intimated his expectation of being compelled, by imperious circumstances, to leave the kingdom; and desired me, in such case, to take charge of the affairs of the Danish nation here. To this I consented, so far as to be the medium of communication for his court. I know no contrasting interests between the two courts which render this compliance improper.

P. S. *12th May.* At Bardo, to day, the demand of a cruiser was revived; and a *fixed time* insisted on for the arrival of the residue of the regalia. The former was rejected without debate; the latter suspended on *hope.*

June 24th, 1800.

To Mr. Pickering.

It is doubtless, and with reason, considered as whimsical as absurd, that *Barbary Consuls*, boys whose minds have been formed in camps and prisons, should intrude counsel to men full of years and wisdom. Facts demonstrate the position. But, if it

be admitted that moderate capacities, on the spot, may discover projects, plots and intrigues, hidden by intermediate space from the eye of keen penetration; and if it be admitted that these discoveries may excite a restlessness as much the emotion of patriotism as presumption, it may be also hoped that even our clamor as well as importunity, may be viewed with an eye of grace, at the seat of government.

It is presumed, Volney's Travels in Egypt and Assyria have been read. The general character *there* given the Turks, exactly fit them *here*, with this addition, that the insolence of the Pachas of the Barbary Regencies, are in an increased ratio to their independence on the Porte. Ignorance, exalted to a station of receiving tribute from every slave below him, from the wandering Beduoin to the sedentary Monarch of Spain, feels none of those *manly* restraints of justice, which the balance and the sword are calculated to inspire between beings mutually *afraid* of each other. Refusal of a favor produces in him the same effect as in an ungoverned brat of an indulgent mother: he will tear the breasts which have nursed him. This figure is far fetched; it is nevertheless in point; correction is as feasible in one case as the other; and correction alone will reduce the churl to decency.

The Danes are running on a lee shore here. They have gone aground at Algiers and Tripoli; and Sweden keeps company. The United States have been beating off and on, ever since their treaty of *amity* with France; and the harbor of safety seems as distant as at the moment of their departure from their own—*dignity!* Can avarice and the grave be satisfied? Give! Give! is the eternal cry! Every breeze will waft it to America; and as often as it is not responded with accord will be brandished over our heads the ottagan of a contemptible pirate!

"*We know what steps to take,*" says the General* of 16,000 ragged, undisciplined Turks to a king of Denmark! and "we know what steps to take," says the Captain† of an undisciplined squad of sunburnt cavalry, to the government of the United States! Denmark, like a proverbial domestic bird of our poultry yards, spreads his feathers, swells the magnitude of his terrors, swaggers and yields. America yields implicitly! If there were a rational hope that these indignities would of themselves come to a crisis, they might be more tolerable: but if it be just to reason from analogy, this hope is abortive. When has a tyrant ever been known to lift his foot from the neck of a voluntary slave? Where is the evidence of Barbary's being satisfied with the *generosity* of its *friends?* Does Spain, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, exhibit it? Will the United States ever exhibit it? Never, so long as they have powder to give, and want the energy to burn it!

"Do you not give money to Algiers?" says the Organ of a nation, to an American Envoy! "Are you not tributary to the pitiful sandbank of Tripoli?" says the world: and the answer is affirmative without a blush! Habit reconciles mankind to every thing, even humiliation; and custom veils disgrace. But what would the world say if Rhodeisland should arm two old merchantmen; put an Irish renegade in one, and a Methodist preacher in the other, and send them to demand a tribute of the Grand Signior? The idea is rediculous; but only so because novel: it is exactly as consistent as that Tripoli should say to the American nation, "*Give me tribute, or tremble under the chastisement of my navy!*" (One old clump from *Boston*, and a polacre or two from some other complaisant *christian* capitals,) and that my yankee adventurers should succeed, would not be more unaccountable, than that these wretched hordes of sea robbers should have so gotten the ascendancy of the enterprizing world!

* Bashaw of Tunis. † Bashaw of Tripoli.

Consul Cathcart is undoubtedly correct when he states that "two of our frigates and four gun boats would bring the Bashaw of Tripoli to terms :" but the propriety of his *opinion, that it would be best to make him a voluntary present,* may be questioned. If Malta should revert again to its ancient form of government, what could it avail us ? what benefit have we ever expected from its *Constitutional* hatred to Mussulmen ?

Genoa has received a new master sufficiently majesterial, it is presumed, to protect her from Barbary insolence. This deprives them of a very considerable resource. All their booty in the Mediterranean is falling into the hands of abler freebooters. They must seek it then in foreign markets. It is no less the interest of all *commercial* Europe to point them to America, than it is theirs to take that direction. We must either bribe their avarice or chastise their audacity. Giving only increases their avidity for more. We have the only alternative then to yield unconditional accord to their claims, or straighten ourselves up a little, and look them out of countenance. This position must at some period be taken. Does the present moment forbid it ? or shall we wait a little longer till we shall have reinforced their navy by our naval and military *regalia,* until they become formidable to us ? When we are unlading these regalia in their ports. Are we not shedding the blood of our countrymen ? It is devoutly to be hoped that the United State may have the honor (very easily obtained) of setting the first example, among the tributaries, of chastising the insolence of their lords. If Tripoli persist, does not Tripoli invite the experiment; and is not the occasion a good one ? Show him two or three of our strongest, best built frigates. Set life and death before him. Leave to him the choice. If he prefer the latter, give it him. There is nothing impracticable in the thing. The Turks are a contemptible military, and at sea, *lubbers.* I have, by accident, been three days and

two nights in one of their corsairs at sea. Our seamen of the north may give them cent per cent, in numbers, odds, and meet them on any ground of war, boarding excepted.

It would be well, on their return or passage out, that the frigates visit Tunis. I will invite the Sapitapa and a brace of the Bey's governors to dine in the Commodore. I will point them to his guns and say, "See there our *executive power* commissioned to keep treaties." Do these sentiments look hostile? They are the only sure guarantee of peace! All *rational* nature may be adduced to evidence it; and France besides. It is more strikingly true in a country where all respect is denied to every thing but *arms*.

Consistently with these sentiments therefore, the questions submitted by Consul Cathcart to the Consul General, O'Brien, and on which the opinion of this consulate is demanded, have received the following answers.

Ques. "1*st*. Whether it would not be to the interest of the United States to make the Bashaw a present, to content him at least till some of our frigates come into the Mediterranean? if in the affirmative, to what amount ought the present to be made, that is, supposing there is no alternative?"

Ans. I should not have intruded my counsel in any matters relative to your administration, had you not desired it.

The Bashaw of Tripoli has given written document as evidence of his entire satisfaction with the presents he has received from the United States as the condition of a perpetual peace. Whence then arise these claims? It is not sufficient that he asserts a right to be placed on a footing with the other Regencies. He may be informed that it is owing to the treachery of French agents that the latter have been so liberally paid. Were this otherwise, his claim is nevertheless inadmissible, being barred by

his own voluntary act. A demand, therefore, of this sort is at least an infringement upon the treaty.

But it is to be doubted whether any extension of the President's instructions may be construed to a discretion of giving or even stipulating additional presents. It is a latitude which seems not to have been intended, even in cases more pressing than the present. It is a happy circumstance for us, and ought to satisfy the Bashaw, that we are thus circumscribed. That the "*Bashaw has condescended to beg a present,*" will not warrant us the discretion of giving.

To revert to your figure to Captain O'Brien, that "*we are sentinels of an advanced picquet.*" It is our duty to give the alarm on an enemy's approach; but by no means to concede one inch of ground which we are stationed to defend.

From these premises my opinion may be easily inferred; that the Bashaw of Tripoli must wait the answer of the President of the United States to his demands. And my opinion may be also as easily inferred, that the President will highly approve of your conduct in the mode you have adopted to resist, or at least to delay his claims, until such answer be received.

"*2d.* Should any of our vessels be sent in here on any pretence whatever, and their cargoes condemned, how would you advise me to act? After such a violation of our treaty shall I refuse the Corsairs of Tripoli American passports, or shall I issue them as if nothing had happened?"

Should an event of this kind happen, which does not, from any thing to be gathered from your communications, seem immediately to menace us, imperious circumstances must be yielded to, and the best provisions possible, made for the crews, until the result of the government be known: but, passports, being evidence of the good understanding subsisting between the Government of the United States and the Bashaw, cannot, in truth nor propriety be granted

after that good understanding shall be interrupted. Besides, this concession would furnish the enemy a decoy to entrap our merchantmen, and even our vessels of war, at the same time that it would shield the corsaires against reprisal from our ships of war which might be detached on this very duty. Passports therefore, cannot be granted after an overt infraction, in fact, of the treaty, on the part of the Bashaw of Tripoli or his subjects.

"3*d*. Do you imagine that the Dey of Algiers would send four or five of his cruisers to demand any American vessels that might be captured? And if he would, would it not cost more to fee him than to content the Bashaw of Tripoli? I am of opinion that if the Dey of Algiers would take the above step, he would succeed; but all the letters in the world would at most produce only a civil answer, mixed with lies and prevarications.

I do not know how these conclusions, in answer to Mr. Cathcart's questions, may correspond with the feelings and decisions of government. If they betray some *alkali*, it is because the intemperance of the climate forces it.

The plague is every day becoming more serious. Our hope is in the approaching heat of summer. The last spring and present month of June, have been unusually cold and humid.

No precautions whatever are used by the ordinary Moors to prevent the malady communicating. Ask a Mussulman the cause of this neglect: "What" says he, "do you suppose I have lost confidence in God?"

I have the honor, &c.
WILLIAM EATON.

Honorable Secretary
of the United States.

To Mr. Smith, Minister at Lisbon.

Tunis, June 27th, 1800.

TO meet the extraordinary demands of the Bey of Tunis, I stated to government in terms which I supposed would attract some consideration, that a display of force would be the only effectual argument. The President has done me the honor of approving of my stile of conduct and communication, but has permitted the Hero, an old ship of between five and six hundred tons, navigated by twenty men, (only one of them a native of America,) mounting *two four pounders*, and but *one* barrel of powder, charged with a cargo upon which nothing less depended here than our *peace*, to leave New York *without convoy* for Tunis. Happily, she arrived ; and the desired effect is secured, at least until the residue of the regalia arrive. But the weak, the crazy situation of the vessel and equipage tended to confirm an opinion, long since conceived, and never fairly controverted among the Tunissians, that the *Americans are a feeble sect of Christians*, and that their *Independence was the gift of France*. This opinion has been cultivated by our *cidevant* agent, a base slave of the projects of this court, and a remorseless traitor to his trusts. He has *never ceased* to thwart me ; till at length his projects of injury against our citizens, and his personal insults to myself, became so glaring and insufferable, that, finding myself without support, at once to convince Tunis and its slaves that Americans are not entirely devoid of resentment, nor obliged to Frenchmen for independence, I gave him, (tell it not in Gath) at the marine gate, among an hundred people, the discipline of my horsewhip. This kindled the flame I intended it should. He summoned me to the tribunal of a pirate. I met him there : joined issue and proceeded to argument. The court, at the commencement of the action, was manifestly prepossessed in favor of the *much injured Famin*. My reasons to the Bey were laconically these. I

have found the man at all points a *traitor* and a *villain*; not less so in his personal treatment towards the representative the President of the United States had placed near him, the Bey, than in the execution of the public trusts himself had once the honor to hold under the same authority. That I did not present myself there to answer to the allegations of the traitor, as I held myself in no respect responsible to the government of Tunis, but to denounce the man as such, and to withdraw from him that protection which he had never merited, but had shamefully dishonored.

"I will send you out of the country!" said the Bey—You will do me an honor which I will take care to appreciate.

"How dare you lift your hand against a *subject* of *mine* in my *kingdom*?"

If your renegade had been in the *kingdom* of *heaven*, and had given me the same provocation, I would have given him the same discipline. But the Bey of Tunis has too much penetration to believe that abject wretch *faithful*, even to his patron. If he were such; if he were a true Frenchman, I would respect him as such; if an American, I would protect him as such; if a good Mussulman, I would honor him as such; or, if a Christian, he should be duly respected. He is neither one nor the other. I have document to convince you that he would sell your head for caroubes, and barter away the reputation of your court for piasters. See here his statement to an American, who by this means has been entrapped into his hands. Hear him call your prime minister and his mercantile agents a set of *thieves* and *robbers*. "How!" Yes, *thieves* and *robbers*. "Mercy—forbearance!" cried Famin. Yes, *thieves* and *robbers!!* This is the man of your confidence! This is the man of mediation between your Excellency and my master the President, (adopting my language to the occasion,) and these are the measures he uses to maintain the good understanding subsisting be

tween us. Had he been faithful, either in his representations of your Excellency's character to the President, or in that of my nation to you, you would long since have received, whatever it might have been, the regalia stipulated as the tokens of friendship. It is his treachery, his falsehood, his sleek and plausible misrepresentations, which has generated the misintelligence between us. Do not suppose I am ignorant of his intrigues. Full well I know he labored *three days*, incessantly, after my arrival at Biserte, to prevail on your Excellency to refuse me an audience. Full well I know, that, during our negociation, he was playing a double game with us. And full well I know that he has uniformly insinuated that my government were flattering you with delusive expectations and insincere promises, and that I, myself, am sent here to be the instrument of this hypocricy.

"But, how do you know these things? Whatever passed between him and me on these subjects was *testa a testa*, insieme!"

Yes, but the fellow had not prudence enough to keep your confidence. Elated with the prospect of success, he blabbed every thing to the woman he keeps: she to her neighbors: so that it has been the topic of conversation in half the Christian taverns in Tunis, "that his Excellency the Bey was going to send away the American Consul," to accommodate an apostate Frenchman! as if the Bey of Tunis had not independence of mind nor discernment to discriminate between the event of insulting a *nation* and disobliging a *slave*. Permit me to suggest to your Excellency, your reputation has been brought into disrespect in the event.

The Bey *listened to me*. Famin trembled as if in a paralytic fit, and began an address in Arabic.

"Speak French," said the Bey, looking him frowningly in the face. He denied my charges. I adduced facts in evidence.

The Bey was convinced. Famin stood convicted. On leaving the palace I told the Bey, tomorrow I would announce to the *world* what I had on that ground. Parting, he gave my hand a cordial squeeze : and, when I was out, turning to his court, said, " the American Consul has been heated : but truly he has had reason. I have always found him a very plain candid man ; and his concern for his fellow citizens is not a crime."

Since this event, which happened about four weeks ago, more hats have been off than had been observed for fourteen months before. I detail this adventure, (which I am sensible will not show much to my advantage in the civilized world,) to demonstrate, what has before been asserted, that the best way to treat these savages is to meet them on their own ground. They began by bullying; I have paid them off in kind.

To the SECRETARY of STATE.

Tunis June 28th, 1800.

This morning the Danish flagstaff was cut down, and war declared by the Bey of Tunis against the king of Denmark. Upwards of seventy people, the equipage of seven vessels, condemned to slavery, and the Consul confined to his house.

Tunis, July 4th, 1800.

SIR,

THE Danish Consul and family have been ordered to quit the kingdom of Tunis : he departs tomorrow, and, as I have before had the honor to intimate to the department of state, has desired me to be the medium between the king of Denmark and Bey of Tunis, during the war.

Yesterday I had an interview with the Bey and his confidential minister. The latter went into a detail of the causes of the war, wherein he *clearly demonstrated that the Danes were the aggressors.* This

inferrence he drew from the taken for granted premises " *that the Bey had a right to demand regalia*, and that *the king of Denmark had violated his good faith by treating that demand contemptuously !*

During the conversation he said, " To speak truly and candidly, the war was intended against the *Americans :* but the letter from your Prince resolved the Bey to suspend the operation a reasonable time for the arrival of the ship. It did arrive, as you told us it would ; and, to deal ingenuously, we must acknowledge to you that we have never received articles of the kind of so excellent a quality from any Christian nation. Had those sent by the king of Denmark (in 1798) been *half* as good, we should now be at peace with him."

I remarked to him, that if he had given me the credit which he was now convinced he ought, he might have saved himself and the Bey much impatience and the entire trouble of arming his navy against us : but I had observed with some concern, that he chose rather to hear meddling fellows, who would as deliberately betray him as me, if the occasion suited.

" That is past," said he, " and you have had your own way of revenge. We are convinced you have dealt candidly with us, though we sometimes thought you a little *hard bitted :* but you are a sort of Englishmen, you Americans, are you not ?" We are not Italians. " Have you no Pope in America ?" Yes : once a year our boys and girls of the streets, accompanied by our sailors and fiddlers, make a Pope and a Devil of old cast clothes ; mount them both on a Borreco, (Jack-ass,) and after driving them about till they are wearied, tar and feather and burn them together by way of amusement. He laughed heartily, and said : " I believe you are just such another *hard headed* race as the English : but, thank God, we are friends. The Bey exhibited marks of perfect satisfaction with us, and, to demonstrate his sincerity, gave me a house in Biserte, eight hours

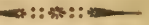
ride from this, by the sea side, where I am to spend the summer. * * * * * * *

The Bashaw of Tripoli, has in a very gracious and polite manner demanded of the President additional evidence of his friendship; something else than "*flattering words* and *delusive promises.*" Hope the President will accommodate him. Mr. Cathcart is of opinion that a present should be given to *content his Excellency* a year or so. I have had but one opinion on the subject of regalia, since I have seen the contemptible navy and military of the regencies. If the demand of Tripoli be acceeded to, undoubtedly it will furnish pretext for similar demands from the other Regencies. "You give Tripoli extraordinary presents not stipulated by treaty. Are we less your friends than Tripoli? If not it will require other evidence than flattering words and delusive promises." Where will these humiliations end? The time must come, when by *solid* argument we must convince our *friends* here of our *warm* attachment. Why not show Tripoli a sample of it? I should fear that my reiterated, perhaps too familiar, observations would excite apprehensions that my agency here might tend to embroil our affairs, if facts did not establish the contrary.

I have the honor, &c.
WILLIAM EATON.

Honorable Secretary
of the United States.

Having brought the more important official correspondence and transactions to this date, it will perhaps be now proper to revert to some of EATON'S *familiar letters and private affairs.*



To MRS. EATON.

Tunis, April 6th, 1799.

SINCE I arrived in this city, which was on the 14th ultimo, I have been constantly employed in negociating alterations in the treaty between the United States and the Bey and Divan of this Regency. I have therefore had but little opportunity to acquaint myself with any thing which can afford you entertainment or instruction. On landing at the marine, about half a mile north of the front gate of the city, the flags were hoisted on all the European consular houses, and on arriving to the American house, the consuls of the different nations welcomed me to the place. The day following was assigned for an introduction to the king. I sat off at ten in the morning, in a carriage drawn by two mules, attended by a Turk, two Moors and an interpreter. The palace is four miles from the city. At this I arrived about eleven; and, after waiting a while in the area of the court, was admitted to the apartment of the Bey. He was seated with his legs under him like a taylor, on a sopha covered with a velvet canopy richly embroidered with gold, with a turban about his head, and a very rich kind of surplice flowing loosely about his shoulders. After having passed the formality of introduction, a seat was presented on his right hand, his principal Minister and Secretary of State sitting on a carpet on his left. In a few minutes three Christian slaves entered the

chamber, one of them with a salver of coffee, in beautiful china cups set in gold, richly ornamented with diamonds; another held over his shoulder a napkin; and the third brought a kind of embroidered canopy, which he spread in the Bey's lap. Coffee being served, we entered into a discourse upon the voyage; and this was succeeded by the subject of our negociation. This formality and business continued fifteen days, when at length, by the agency of bribes and presents to a considerable amount, the object of the negociation was obtained, and I took half a day's leisure to ride into the country. I found the king a man of shrewdness, understanding and great ingenuity. His terms, in consideration of his accession to the terms we proposed, were enormous; and we are not yet perfectly on good terms respecting them. I have uniformly resisted them; and the last time I was at the palace, he threatened us with war in case I did not come to an unequivocal agreement to his terms. I told him we were not at this period to be alarmed by menaces; we were prepared for war; and if he chose to commence it on so trifling an occasion, he might have cause to regret his temerity. He left me without ceremony, saying, *if I would not accede to his demand I might pull down the American flag, embark in the brig and go home.* If I do not find some means to soften his temper or moderate his demand, I may possibly hand you this letter myself.

This *country* is indeed beautiful; but the people are superlatively wretched. They are humbled by the double oppression of civil and religious tyranny; seem to have but little enterprize, and are grossly ignorant. The houses of the city are built of stone, cemented with lime, one story high, without chimneys, the roofs flat, and so closely joined together that the whole light is admitted through an aperture in the top of the house. They sit always on the floor, which is generally the earth covered with tiles, or with mats made of reeds; feed principally on veg-

etable diet made of grain, olives and fruit; and drink nothing but water. The women are never seen abroad, except the poorer classes, and these not without being wrapped about in blankets and handkerchiefs from the crown of the head to the ancles: they are always barefoot, or in slippers only. The inhabitants have exactly the complexion of the American Indians; excepting those of foreign countries who have become naturalized. The city contains about three hundred thousand souls; ten thousand of them Jews, two thousand Christians, six or seven hundred renegades, beside three thousand Christian slaves. These are parcelled out at different public employments, and in private service of their masters.

[The situation of the 920 Sardinian slaves is here described.]

Many of them have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas, remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty and national justice. How frequently, in the southern states of my own country, have I seen weeping mothers leading the guiltless infant to the sales, with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter; and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions upon defenceless humanity. But when I see the same enormities practiced upon beings whose complexion and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed truth and justice demand from me the confession that the christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among the professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery.

I have once passed over the ruins of Carthage and Utica, but this moment is too contracted to afford me

leisure to describe to you my discoveries or feelings on that occasion. Another time shall be devoted to this subject; the present is consumed in preparing necessary dispatches to our government, and in writing letters of business.

Tunis at present, offers no advantage from commerce. The Barbary States are involved in the war with the French Republic. This excludes all intercourse with the States of Italy, the coasts of France and Spain, and indeed with almost all the ports of her usual commerce. I cannot, therefore, promise myself many commercial advantages from my present situation. I hope however, by dint of economy, to be able to save half the amount of my salary. In less than two years from this moment, by the leave of Heaven, I will again embrace my friends in Brimfield and other parts of America. My arrangements are already made for this purpose; and I look forward with an anxiety, which indeed does not become my years, for the moment which shall again restore to me the homely felicity of my native country. But before this period elapses I am resolved to visit Rome, and if possible the Holy Land; but must abandon the idea of visiting Egypt so long as the French hold possession of it. The plague rages at this moment in that devoted country: but, thank divine goodness, no symptom of it has yet shewn itself in this city the present season.

I was never before so thoroughly convinced that infinite wisdom never hit on a more rational discovery than when he "*saw it was not good for man to be alone.*" Do not suppose I would be willing to lose a rib for the manufacture of an *help meet* for me here. No such thing I assure you: but I should feel not the least objection to undergo the experiment of having the one already lost restored to its place again.

Goodnight: it is twelve o'clock, and nothing but solitude and dulness to solace the bosom of

Yours, &c.

N. B. Take care, Eliza, not to let our good old parents die till I return.

To Stephen Pynchon, Esq. Brimfield.

Tunis, April 8th, 1799.

" Give me whatever's pretty, nice and new ;
" All ugly, odd, old things I leave to you."

ON the fourth of January of the present year we put to sea from the capes of the Delaware : and by the bluster of winter were hurried through the Atlantic over head and ears in brine and suds, without a dry thread about us : and in thirty six days arrived at Algiers. One of our vessels, a ship of between two and three hundred tons and thirty people, broached to in a storm, and went down, poor fellows, in a moment. This happened on the American coast. Another of our company fell in with a fleet of gun boats at the mouth of the streights, and fought her passage. This was a schooner commanded by Captain Maley, who told me he expended four hundred balls on the occasion, and received as many : but this must have been at a very *respectful distance*, for no blood was lost *on our side !* That they had skirmishing is true.

Algiers is an immense pile of brick and lime, cemented in a mass, on the declivity of a hill, resembling a marble quarry with excavated cells. This figure you will more easily understand, when I tell you that the roofs. or rather tops of the houses, are flat, and connected with each other in such a manner that a man might walk from wall to wall without touching feet to the ground in almost any direction in the city. The streets, or rather covert ways, are, in general, not more than six feet broad : the broadest will admit, with much difficulty, a loaded camel in the centre, and a footman on each side. They are almost uniformly covered with projected stories of the houses, forming in some places arches and in others planes, and hiding the sun at mid-day. There is not a yard in the whole city : every conve-

nience is placed within the walls of the houses, even the common vaults and reservoirs of water; and they have no light but what is received at an aperture in the centre of the house; generally a square, extending from the top to the ground in every house, from thirty to eight or ten feet in proportion to the dimensions of the house, forming at once the court and galleries. On each side of this area from two to four stories are rooms for every purpose.

The city is crouded with imperious Turks, beggarly Moors, and savage Arabs, distinguised from each other by their dress, or rather undress. The Turks in short jackets, something like those of our seamen, without sleeves, embroidered with spangles of gold, wrought in a variety of figures on the edges and sides: a species of open trousers of different cloths, fine linen or muslin, descending to the calf and tied around each leg: a sash of a red or variegated silk interwoven with gold tinsel wound around the small of the body, in which are worn a sword and brace of long pistols: square toed shoes, naked legs; head shaved and bound about with a turban, half a dozen yards of white muslin coiled about a small red cap, which just appears at top: the beard suspended upon the breast. The Moorish dress differs from this only in quality, except that these wear no arms, the Turks only forming the military of the country. The Arabs in every respect resemble the savages of America, except that they are less enterprizing, and have nothing of that wild magnanimity which invigorates the free born sons of our forests.

The *ladies* of Barbary seen in the streets, look like walking ghosts swaddled in rags. These wear square toed shoes, generally without quarters or very low ones. Above these, half way up the leg they are uncovered; then commence writhes of muslin like sailors' trousers, loosely twisted about each leg, tied at the bottom, and in this kind of coil ascending about two spans from the first joint above the ancle, and forming a junction; now becoming an immense

bag, it ascends in irregular plaits till it gathers round the waist and divides the upper from the nether regions of the body. Over this, suspended like curtains from the head to the ground, roll huge dirty folds of flannel or muslin blankets. Around the mouth, chin and forehead, are handkerchiefs, closely swathed, hiding the whole face except a necessary aperture for the admission of light. Thus rigged, nothing can be seen of them abroad but the twinkling of an eye.

Not so the daughters of Abraham. Their bare, broad, brown faces, form a contrast to the Turkish women as much on the other extreme. They appear dirty as brutes and as brazen as impudence. Common fame slanders them as accessible. It may be so ; but of this I shall never have other demonstration than the scandal of common fame : for, beside the prohibition imposed on my—curiosity by a *Union** magistrate, I have a moral disgust to every thing of this kind which is dirty. All the ladies I have seen, if their beauties were consolidated, would not create sensibility enough in my heart to produce a ballad from my brain, even if I possessed the skill and feelings of the royal grandson of Jesse. The description of Algerine habits may, with very little exception, apply to Tunis. It is an abominable falshood recorded by geographers, *that the women of Tunis are handsome.* Those I have seen in the streets, and more exposed from the tops of their houses, are ill shaped, short and dirty. They are all brown. I can say little of their manners and customs : cannot however but take notice of one very remarkable custom, which I consider a very laudable one ; this is a habit the *widows* have of repairing at least once a week to, and weeping over, the graves of their—husbands, even after they have been a *month dead ! !*

Of the strength, commerce, manufactures and general manners of these Regencies, it is hoped a fu-

* A pun : he having been married in *Union*, (Ct.)

ture opportunity will afford some entertainment and information. I will now only remark, (for this is something *remarkable*,) that there are no *lawyers* in the country: but it is cursedly infested with *priests*.

Apropos: this brings me to a general religious subject. I once formed a resolution to dispute with no man on religious subjects. The resolution was well formed; and I have reason to regret having ever in any instance departed from it. I here renew it. Religion is a necessary guide to human actions, an anchor of hope, a dernier resort from the evils of this illusive life; and both humanity and good manners forbid an attempt to deprive a bewildered mortal of a sanctuary so hospitable, let vision shape it in what manner it will.

There are perhaps but few among the vast mass of men, who are void of *religious principles*, who have philosophy or resolution to resist the temptations which the sensations of every day convey to the mind: hence most men, who have not a sacred regard for religion of some kind, are dissolute in their manners; and those, who effect to despise it, are abandoned to every vice which sense invites and which darkness can hide from the penetration of justice.

I was once a Christian, and believed in miracles: became a deist from the absurdity introduced to that system by the hypocricy, bigotry and ignorance of priestcraft: am now again a Christian, from a conviction of the simplicity and excellence of its morality, its manly independence, and its *immortal hope*. I have also political reasons. In a country where Christianity is the prevailing religion, every honest patriot should be a Christian, to prevent that mischief which hypocrites and knaves, both political and divine, are capable of committing under the garb of Christianity.

The common mass of mankind are always more or less influenced by that blind *faith* which they are willing to pass for religion, and which, perhaps, they

believe so, for *ignorance* has *less hypocricy* than *wisdom:* and to whatever form of faith their zeal or caprice may induce them to incline, they pay homage to it in their superiors.

An additional argument is, that *every good man* and lover of his country, *owes it as a duty to his country,* to conform to its religion in so great a measure as not to lose his influence, even if he sacrifice to ignorance: because the balance of influence should always be held by honest men, and this tends to secure it.

If a designing hypocrite finds a necessity of blasting the influence of an honest man, of whose integrity he is afraid, he can no way do it more effectually than by denouncing him an *infidel.*

It seems to be a principle attached to the cowardice of guilt and error of ignorance, to approach its judge through an intermediate being. All experience demonstrates this fact: and all ages of men have differed on this principle only, in the being they have chosen for the mediator. Some have fixed on an ox and some a corpse: some have considered the sun and stars the representative of God, and some the whirlwind and the storm. But whatever it be, if there be nothing of political fraud nor corruption in its constitution, it should so far have the countenance of good men as to secure to society the benefit of their influence: and I believe *God* will forgive the idolatry for *humanity's* sake.

Christianity is undoubtedly the most pure and simple of any created religion, which has hitherto been introduced by man. I say *created,* because *truth,* and of course *true religion,* must have been more ancient than the existence of God: must have governed him in creation, and not have been created by him: Or they are more properly *unique.*

I find no potitical reason in this country for becoming a Mussulman: but I will be a Christian if ever I return to my dear, native wilds.

You will object to my system because it countenances hypocricy—Granted : but is it not a refined hypocricy which shall control hypocricy of the grosser sort, to subserve mankind ?

I have spun this subject far beyond my intentions and the bounds of modesty ; but I hope you will believe I am not aiming at preceptorial consequence : I am submitting my indigested thoughts for your criticism, correction, or sympathy.

I have said in my letter to Mrs. Eaton, which accompanies this, that the houses of Tunis are low. The consular houses are exceptions. These are from three to four stories, large and well built. The American house is the largest in the city and by far the handsomest. It is four stories from the magazine ; one hundred and twenty feet by fifty ; built of stone and lime, and well finished, upon the European construction : but it has no chimney nor fire place, except in the kitchen. It has one and twenty rooms and closets on the floor of the second story, eight of them large, the others convenient and necessary. My family consists of a young gentleman from Baltimore, a physician and a philosopher, who has agreed to tarry with me two years ; an interpreter and three servants.

Silence and solitude reign among us. From morning till midnight here is nothing to interrupt study and rational contemplation, for we have not a woman in the house.

It is but a few days since I got through with the business of my negociation with the Bey and Divan : in a few days more shall close my dispatches. After which I promise myself much satisfaction in ranging among the ruins of the ancient cities in this vicinity.

WILLIAM EATON.

Extracts, to O'Brien.

July 20th, 1799.

THE Bey's Physician dined with me to day, and confidentially told me that the Regency had it in contemplation to declare war against Spain; and only waited the return of two merchant vessels, which had gone thither. Speed to the measure! It will give us relief. Pity it is, that the Italians were not included in the *personae dramatis*. Mussulmen, catholics, assassins, thieves, beggars, pimps. In Heaven's name, let them devour each other. The world is afflicted with their abominations. I wish I could thunder with a voice like Jove: I would project electric bolts, omnipotent among them, thicker than the stars of heaven; more irregular than the dreams of guilt; pointed with blue wrath, terrible as hell; and, in one permiscuous labyrinth of contageous vengeance, ingulf them: and would then people the coast of the Mediterranean with a new race of men, upon a construction of my own, who should never suffer lust, nor avarice, nor the cholic.

I am sorry that the request of the "female Bocris"* is inadmissible, being much disposed to serve them. But, I have already employed a "hack sansal" from among the *dispersed*, who serves me as a drogoman, broker, footpage, groom, scullian, bottle-washer, aid du corps and physician: who was born in Gibralter, is free of London, a convict from Ireland, a burgomaster of Holland: was circumcised in Barbary; was a spy for the Devil among the Apostles at the feast of Penticost, and has the gift of tongues: has travelled in all Europe, and will undoubtedly be hung in America, for I intend to take him there. He is the most useful scoundrel in the world. He interprets, trades, runs, holds a horse,

* Two ladies in Algiers, who wished Eaton to take one of their men servants.

scrubs, makes punch, intrigues, fights and prescribes for me, for the moderate sum of five dollars per month, and the perquisite of purloining every thing which I cannot miss. I regret that I cannot oblige the ladies.

EXTRACTS; to Hon. S. LYMAN, Esq. *Springfield.*

April 26th, 1799.

A mind accustomed, in a country like ours, to feast on the calm and manly happiness of contemplating, on every point, his fellow men in the full enjoyment of equal rights and equal protection, must here be almost transported to madness in viewing the extremes of intolerable insolence and of the basest abjection which every where exhibit themselves.

Blindness seems peculiar to this country. The streets are crowded with blind beggars, sitting wrapped about with miserable blankets, crying for charity for the love of Mahomet. I believe I have passed an hundred of these wretches in half a mile's walk. I think this malady may be imputed to the stimulating effect of tobacco smoke, which is taken incessantly among the men, without a sufficient use of animal food to restore the fluids which are dissipated by this unnatural stimulus. The use of tobacco in any shape I believe pernicious to the human system. Experience has taught me it is so to habits like mine; and observation has persuaded me it is so to all habits. Yet it seems to fascinate half the world of mankind: but in no place are men so tobacco-mad as in the Turkish dominions. It is as uncommon to meet a Turk here without a pipe as it is to meet a stripling in our fashionable towns in America without a segar.

To GEORGE HOUGH, Esq.

September 15th, 1799.

TIME was, friend Hough, when you and I laughed away an hour as happily as poor men could.

But no more! That however is a portion of the *past*, on which I frequently seize, and in a kind of retrospective pleasure act over and over again, to fill the vacuity of the *present*.

This place of my exile furnishes much material for contemplation, but very little of enjoyment; it is therefore among the ruins of departed pleasures that my mind retrogrades for subsistence: few periods furnish more than that of our early acquaintance.

This country is indeed beautiful and naturally productive of every thing which any soil or climate on earth can be made to produce; but it is badly cultivated, because the wretched subjects who are parched upon its surface have so precarious a title to the produce of their labor, that they find no stimulus to industry and enterprize. A *naked* subsistence therefore bounds their ambition, and a confirmed state of oppression has settled them into habitual indolence and contentment. Upon the vast surface of this extensive coast, naturally as fertile and as generous as the bosom of youth, little else is to be seen than wandering families of sunburnt Moors, whose only houses are tents of camels hair, and whose only property is a few herds of cattle and sheep, a little poultry and a patch of corn. A handful of olives and a morsel of bread serve them for their daily subsistence. A mat of reeds furnishes their bed, their seat and their table: and a flannel blanket, thrown loosely about them, their whole wardrobe. The simplicity of their living is a striking proof how little may suffice to support life; and when contrasted with the tables of the affluent, proves also how much is devoured there without zest and without cheer, which might otherwise relieve distress and gladden the heart of sorrow. They seem to have enough and to be happy. They enjoy perfect health; live to great old age, and then gradually decline away, like old trees, without pain and without even a consciousness of decay. Such are the *natives* of the country. The Turks are en-

tirely a different species of men. So indeed are the inhabitants of their cities and walled towns. The city of Tunis is inhabited by a morty herd of animals. Here within the circumference of about seven miles, three hundred thousand souls are crammed into subterraneous cells, Jews, Moors, Italians and Turks, like moles, bats, vipers and wolves. The houses are generally low, built of brick or mud ; their walls contiguous to each other, admitting the light only through an aperture in the top ; and, the narrow streets are so filled by the offal of two or three thousand years, that the descent to the floor in many of them is from one to two or three feet. The middling and poorer people have but one apartment, an oblong square arched over, about fifteen feet long and from ten to twelve broad. The better sort have square houses, with an open space in the centre, on each side of which is a room with necessary apartments. Here and there are elevated, among these dens, spacious stone buildings of rich Turks and foreign ministers ; huge piles of castles and enormous mosques. The tops of the houses are all flat, and in the wet season of the year are covered with vegetation, which, viewed from the terrace of the American house, which has an elevation of three story above the ordinary houses, present a very grotesque appearance. Of the great number of souls, who inhabit this small space, one half, the women, never but once, during their whole lives, go without the walls of their wretched prisons ; and then only to be transplanted into a confinement which has undoubtedly more allurements but stricter vigils, the house of a husband ; and never without the walls of the city. Add to this, one third of the whole number, the mechanics, who never during life go three leagues from the spot of their birth. Here then are two hundred and fifty thousand animals, in the shape of human beings, who vegetate and set in the same sink. The small number who venture out confine their travels to privateering and commercial

voyages, within the confines of the Mediterranean, or to the semiannual revolution of the camp, to gather tithes from the poor natives.

They have no books but the Alcoran, which, not one in a hundred can read, and of course no light but *divine light*, which, all experience teaches us, when admitted in exclusion of the light of common sense, guides men to palpable darkness. From these premises you will conclude that superstition and fanaticism have their rankest growth here. No—They are ranker in Italy and Spain, because speculators in divinity have more influence there; but here they are rank. In the twilight, (this is the time of prayers,) when parting day and solitude shed a kind of solemnity over the mind, I frequently walk upon my house top and view the animal world below. I behold at the same instant hundreds of souls upon their terraces prostrating themselves at the shrine of their tutelar deity, while in the cells below and mosques is heard the din of incessant prayer. With their faces towards Mecca, they kneel, they pray; fall prostrate on the ground and kiss the dust. They continue long at these devotions. With sad distortions of countenance, souls agitated with holy zeal, and hearts religiously distended with hatred towards the *unbelieving dogs* who are not blinded with their light, they bless God that they were born under the influence of the *true* religion, and were not left to perish under Christian delusion.* A thousand ideas, faster than I can digest them, rush upon my mind on these solemn occasions: and, whether from pity or from sympathy I know not, my soul joins the torrent of prayer. "Incomprehensible source of being and perfection! Can these devotions of thy creatures, so sensible of their dependence, however darkly ignorant they are, and however erroneous they may be,

* I asked a Turk who frequents my house if he would go to America and turn Christian? He said he should like to go there; but for a thousand worlds he would not turn Christian and lose his soul.

can they be less acceptable to thee than the sacrifices of souls more refined, offered with less simplicity and equal arrogance ? Or art thou moved like a sectarian and wrought upon by a rite ? Do I not at this moment conceive thee addressed through a million different channels ; and may they not all direct their course to the vast ocean of thy goodness ?" But these are ejaculatory enquiries too sacred to be explained to a *natural* man : I leave them therefore to the solution of those distinguished ministers of *light* who have penetrated the arcana of God, and pursue my observations as a layman, only begging the indulgence to turn the period of my prayer with,

" Let not this weak, unknowing hand
Presume thy bolts to throw ;
Nor deal damnation round the land
On each I judge thy foe."

I said they pray with their faces towards Mecca. Can you be persuaded that the more enlightened of these favorites of heaven are so particular in this point that they shape their position with a *compass ?* It is true ! The tomb of our savior has a variation from this point of only *eighteen degrees* from that of Mahomet, which is imperceptible to the eye. Should accident or ignorance, on these occasions, point a Mussulman's nose towards Jerusalem, jealousy might induce the prophet to consider it as a breach of good faith, a compliment meant to his rival, and an insult offered to his dignity, which would incense the father of gods and men to rain wrath upon the hapless subject of this error. In Italy this same equal God would pour equal wrath upon the blasphemous scoundrel, who to the prejudice of the true Messiah should pay a civility to the memory of Mahomet ! Man ! Thou paragon of *rational inconsistency !* How grateful ought thou to be to thy common Father for pitying thy weakness, suffering thy absurdities, pardoning thy pride and withholding from thee

his bolts of vengeance with which thou wouldst reciprocally destroy and reciprocally damn thy whole race !

The ignorance, superstitious tradition and civil and religious tyrranny, which depress the human mind here, exclude improvement of every kind ; consequently the same habits, customs and manners, which were observed in the east three thousand years ago, are still prevalent here. Every thing is done to the greatest possible disadvantage.

The Turks are the lords of the country. They form the government and the regular military, and although they bear a very small portion to the whole number of inhabitants, every thing yields to their convenience and pleasure. They are consequently imperious, overbearing and insolent ; regardless of human right and unmoved by human misery. They subsist generally by plunder of some kind ; either indirectly upon the natives of the country, or directly upon the effeminate Christian powers of the Mediterranean, with some one of whom, for this sole purpose, they are perpetually at war. The government draws its support from the same sources ; and, to the shame of christendom and humanity, has so established the system, that Europe and America stipulate its guarantee by treaty compact. The general principle of the Barbary Regencies is the same.

Algiers has seven kings of Europe and two republics, besides the American empire, held in direct or indirect tribute. Yet I consider Algiers far from being invulnerable from the most inconsiderable of those powers. Tunis is but little less arrogant, though far less formidable. What can induce these submissions ? A groveling policy in the more northern states of Europe, founded on commercial rivalship, of feeing these pirates to raise impediments to each other, and a cowardly effeminacy which has long since unmanned Spain, Italy and the Islands in their dependencies, and which has cultivated a spirit of tame submission. What should have brought

America into the measure? Covetousness, jealousy of their own government and illfounded credulity in foreign intervention. Had the government of the United States persevered in their first resolutions of showing a force in this sea, we might have held our own terms: but, to save the expense of that armament, we have expended as much cash in negociation as its equipment would have cost: we have entailed on ourselves and posterity the payment of a tribute, which, with freight and insurance, will amount annually to forty thousand dollars; and we have obtained, with two of these regencies, a precarious peace. I say *precarious*, because all experience teaches us that no peace between nations can be permanent, which is not guaranteed by mutual interests or equal force, longer than while the imposing power is paid an equivalent to the probable advantages of breaking it. These Regencies will fabricate pretexts for accumulating their claims upon us, so long as we shall have a commerce in this sea worth these sacrifices to their avarice for its protection, and we remain apparently in a situation to give it no other more effectual protection. We have, therefore, only this choice of measures, to concede unconditionally to their demands, or to effectuate different habits of feeling among them towards us from the present, by showing a force here. We have no other alternative. It is indeed an erroneous calculation to seek to save the expense of this kind of protection by stipulating payments to a gang of fearless robbers, whose avidity for plunder is as insatiable as death; not to say any thing of the national degradation collateral to this measure. My fellow citizens then may reconcile themselves to open their purses to buy otto of roses to perfume Mussulmen's beards, or to open their gun ports to protect their purses and redeem their reputation. For my own part it grates me mortally, when I see a lazy Turk reclining at his ease upon an embroidered sopha, with one christian slave to fan away the flies, another to hand his cof-

foe, and a third to hold his pipe ; and when I reflect that the sweat of my countrymen contributes to procure him this ease. It is still more grating to perceive that the Turk believes he has a right to demand this contribution, and that we, like Italians, have not fortitude to resist it. England, at present, seems to be the only nation of Europe suitably respected by these Regencies ! The lion of England shows them his teeth. Algiers feigns a friendship for the United State, for the same reason that an old bawd falls violently in love with a young factor ; she has got hold of his purse strings and is determined to pick his pockets. It is but justice to say of Tunis that it has a wise and an amiable prince, but he entertains no adequate ideas of the importance of the United States : he cannot discriminate between Mediterranean and transatlantic Christians. When I talk to him of the strength, independence and enterprise of my country, he leers at it : I hope he may be taught to think more justly of us.

Were I to go into a detail of the insults, aggressions and barbarities which these pirates are every day practising upon their tame Christian neighbors, you would be astonished. It is a common thing among them to take masters and seamen out of the merchant vessels in their harbors, and unmercifully bastinade them for refusing any thing required of them however trifling or however extravagant. I think it would throw me into a perspiration to see an American treated in this manner. Yet, if found here, they are as subject to it under existing circumstances as any other Christians.

I can fix no period to the probable time of my seclusion from society and happiness. Please to mention me agreeably to your lady ; and believe me to be, my dear sir, as cordially and as sincerely as ever,

Your friend and humble servant,

WILLIAM EATON.

EXTRACT: TO MR. PICKERING. *(Private.)*

FROM the similarity of soil and climate between this country and some parts of the United States, it may be presumed that the *date*, *fig* and *olive tree*, may be successfully cultivated in our country.

The date seeks a dry, hot bed of sand: it grows where no other vegetation is seen. The pine barrens of Georgia would be peculiarly friendly to this tree. It is produced from the seed; is slow in growth, but very durable. It very much resembles in appearance the cabbage tree. The fruit is very nutritive: many people upon the borders of the desert subsist almost entirely upon it. It is used as a dessert at many tables. I send a few seeds by Mr. Shaw; and could wish that an experiment might be made with them by putting them into the hands of a Georgian, who extends his ideas of agricultural improvement to the Yazoo grants, and a hundred years into futurity. The tree requires watering in the hot seasons. The fig also flourishes in a sandy soil: it requires less moisture than the date. The *wild* fig grows spontaneously upon the islands on the coasts of Georgia; which is a sufficient proof that the true may be cultivated there. If the scion can be grafted I intend trying the experiment of introducing it to America. The healthy properties of this fruit are known to every body. When green, as well as dry, it forms an agreeable dessert.

The olive requires a tenaceous soil; but the circumstance of the plains of this country being verdant with them, when there has not fallen a drop of rain for more that fifteen weeks, proves that the tree can subsist with very little moisture. The marly soil of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and the clay bottoms of the Southern States, would be most probably favorable to the cultivation of the olive. It is

produced from the slip : it is of slow growth ; but it lives to an amazing age. We see olive groves here which from the ruins of walls that enclosed them, appear to have been planted by Europeans ; and which are yet fruitful. There is no need that any thing should be said of the produce of this tree neither as it respects the sustenance of life nor as a source of wealth. I contemplate attempting to introduce this tree also to America if circumstances should operate to favor the project. I do not know that the project has been assayed. Whatever may be the success of it, the anticipation that future generations may see sources of life and wealth covering the immense sand and clay barrens of our country, which now present a discouraging surface, is an agreeable subject of contemplation.

To Mrs. Eaton.

Tunis, April 13th, 1800.

I AM at this moment exceedingly pressed with business, having with me two ships loading for Europe, and having communications to make to government of the ultimate result of my exertions the last year. Every thing is well with me, both public and personal. I have received the full approbation of the President on the manner in which I have conducted the affairs of the United States in a very critical moment ; and the warm expressions of friendship of Mr. Pickering in a private letter from him on the subject. I should not mention these things, but I suppose a man may be a little *familiar* with his *wife* without being charged with vanity. Besides, I know you feel every thing which touches me. My prospects of commerce are truly flattering ; and my health, thank God, was never better. You have wept for me, Eliza. God will let us rejoice together. I am more and more persuaded that there is a superintendant power, a Being of

justice, who regards human affairs, and who maketh the upright exertions of a man to prosper.

To Mr. Pickering. *(Private.)*

Tunis, May 13th, 1800.

I READ your friendly letter of *13th* January, with infinite satisfaction and a due sense of gratitude. I am not less sensible to the honor done me by the approbation the President has been pleased to confer on my conduct here.

I am happy the discretion I used in drawing an outfit* did not incur censure. The situation in which I found myself on arriving here rendered some such expedient necessary. It was not without hesitation I adopted it, not feeling confident that my deductions from your comments would be admitted; knowing however, that, if not finally allowed, it might be placed to my debt on account of salary.

It may not be improper to note here, what I do not chuse should appear in my official communications, unless a question be made on the subject, that the British consul's stated salary is 800*l.* sterling per an. and perquisites of office, last year, nearly 1200*l.* The Dutch consul's, who is charge des affairs for the Emperor and Republic of Ragusa, about 3000 dollars; perquisites of office more than three times this sum last year; Ragusa being the principal carrier for Tunis; and the consul receiving five per cent on the freight of their vessels: (the British Consul also takes five per cent:) the Danish Consul about 3000 dollars: the Spanish Consul 4000 dollars and all expenses defrayed by government, even his ward robe: the Swede about 3000 dollars.

From an estimate of the expenses of my table the last year, I find its amount D.1,970 48 cts. exclusive of clothing, horsekeeping and domestics' salaries. My house, however, the last year, has been a cara-

* $2,000.

vansary. Every body, who had the ear of the Bey, whether Christian (Famin excepted) or Mussulman, (the latter have no scruples to a glass of wine under a christian flag,) have been my "good friends." For this sum a family might have been subsisted.

Market provisions are much dearer here than in Algiers; say 33 1-3 per cent. Ought not the salary to be in proportion? The consular houses are much more in *stile*. If the American be singular in his resourses this will not be admitted as a sufficient excuse for his being so in his expenses. The *outfit* helped me. The surplus of furnishing the house and what cash I brought out, I embarked, incog. in trade with an English gentleman: and it has succeeded beyond my calculation. I was compelled to do this or go into debt.

To Mr. Pynchon.

Tunis, May 23d, 1800.

IT was not my intention to write you by this opportunity, because my vacant head could indict nothing worth your reading. But, rummaging this morning, among old passports, bills of health, manifests, protests, old letters and manuscript chaos of my own, I found, in a mutilated state, the original of the enclosed scrap. They are rhapsodies which occurred at the instant of hearing of the death of the best and greatest mere man who ever died. On a review of it I like it; not because it is poetical or elegant; but because it is a strong expression of the impression the intelligence made on my mind. I send it to you that it may be printed, under your inspection, in the waste corner of a Newspaper. It savors a little of *heathenism*, but not in the least of *atheism* nor *democracy*.

WASHINGTON's Reception *in* Elysium.

IT was a glad morn when great Jove announced,
" Our glorious Washington arrives to day."
A thousand suns, to grace the arch of heaven,
Were lighted into lustre on the occasion ;
And stars, that twinkled through the beams of day,
Were ranged to add a brilliance to the grandeur.
A barge, constructed of the deals of life,
Manned by eight heroes' spirits ; antient half,
Half modern ; David, Israel's royal warrior ;
Cyrus the Persian Conqueror ; Philip's son ;
And Rome's first Emperor, mighty Julius Cæsar ;
Alfred the Great ; Lewis the boast of France ;
Peter the Czar, and Prussia's deathless Frederic ;
Drake at the helm ; bore him across the Styx.
Phocion and Fabius, Charlemagne and Warren,
Stood and received him on the other side ;
And led him through Avernus. On the fields
Of fair Elysium, ranged in open order,
With arms presented, stood the host of heaven.
As he approached the right, a signal given,
The park celestial thundered a salute.
Once more were seen his loved compatriots,
Heroes who bled on young Columbia's plains,
Proceeding joyful in their General's train.
As he drew near the city, every gate
Was thrown wide open. On the lofty ramparts,
Celestial myriads crouded, gazed and shouted,
While all heaven's batteries thundered a salute.
A million virgins o'er the gilded pavements
Spread laurel, cassia, aromatic flowers ;
And sang, once more, " The conquering Hero comes."
Great nature's monarch from his pearly throne
Rose gracious ; and, all affable, half bending,
Half did him homage, while he bade him wellcome :
And all the court of Jove respectful bowed.
All night old Franklin, seated on a cloud,
Displayed illuminations through the realm.
Such the respect the great accord to goodness,
And such the joy which filled the etherial courts,
When WASHINGTON received a crown immortal.
But, o'er the Western hemisphere of earth,
That day was veiled in sadness : poignant grief,
Unknown till then, oppressed a nation's breast ;
And half a world o'erwhelmed in mighty sorrow.

Weep not, Columbia, that thy Son and Soldier
Ascends to glory unalloyed, eternal.
Wouldst thou confine a soul like his to earth,
Where black ingratitude and envy reign
In half the hearts of men? Perhaps he still
Remains thy Guardian Genius and thy Friend.
Most sure I am heaven can bestow no gift,
No honors grant, confer no dignity,
So grateful half as this; reward so ample
For all his toils and virtues as a man,
And sure I am, there's no competitor,
In heaven or earth, that can with him contest
The claim to this distinction and deposit.
Weep not, Columbia, WASHINGTON is still
Thy Guardian Genius thy immortal Guide.*

Barbary, March 1st, 1800.

To Mr. HARRIS.

Tunis, June 13th, 1800.

THE death of our *Patriarch* had been told through this region, before your letter announced it. You have wept in America. You have had cause. The world should weep. Man has lost a friend! As a *man* and as an *American*, I feel a deep impression of manly sorrow. But as a *christian*, and an admirer of that extraordinary man, I am glad he has ascended. He lived enough to glory! enough to usefulness. It were unkind to wish him longer from home: we owe infinite gratitude to heaven for lending him so long. He has left us the immortal monuments of his virtue. He has left us his examples. He has left us a country. Long as America retains a single symptom of patriotism, honor, or

* See his valedictory address to the Citizens of the United States in 1796. *Read it in thy holy places. Bind it about thy neck. Print it on the tablet of thy heart.* It shall keep thee from the *strange woman.*† It shall deliver thee from the *Harlot*‡ that lieth in wait for thy soul.

† Sister France!

‡ Mother Britain!

truth, so long her citizens, oft as the name of Washington occurs, shall feel their own virtues reinforced, and blush at corruption: even depravity itself shall feel a dignified pride from the reflected honor to have been born in a country which bore such a son.

Treachery and fraud will be repulsed at the idea that the spirit of *Washington* witnesses their intrigues. America has lost a *friend* and a *father*. Heaven has acquired an ornament and a son.

N. B. Do not forget to send me a *register*. The object is not so much to know the "new moons and appointed feasts," as the departments of State, war, navy, members of Congress, promotions, depressions, bills of mortality, births, marriages, revivals of religion, extraordinary instances of conversions to federalism, epigrams anecdotes, recipes to cure the bite of mad dogs, mad politicians, and rattle snakes, (they are all a bite,) the sting of scorpions, plague and hypo; and such other useful and wise matters as "*the gentleman's annual pocket remembrancer*" generally contains.

To Mr. Pickering. *(Private.)*

Tunis, July 21st, 1800.

THE morning next succeeding the departure of his Danish Majesty's Consul General, the Danish Masters of vessels, then captured, six in number, came in a body and desired me to redeem their vessels. It was understood that they could upon a credit in Leghorn. I accordingly went to the minister, and proposed, in my own name, to purchase the Danish vessels. He closed with the proposal and appointed his agent. I examined the vessels; (they had not been then plundered;) and made an offer. He demanded time to deliberate. In the interim the Danish Captains discovered apprehensions of danger in pursuing the project. My word was passed; and my only hope rested in refusal of my bid on the part of the Government.

Famin overbid me. Government reported, by their agent, his bid. To which I replied that I considered the business at an end on my part, because I was fixed in my first bid. The next day I departed for Biserte: but had been but twelve hours there when a message arrived expressing the *astonishment of the government at my departure, because their agent had received orders to close with my offer.* I returned immediately; finished the bargain, and fixed on the mode of payment. I now reported the business to the Danish Captains; but they failed altogether. I now found myself in possession of six vessels, purchased on credit, in a situation by no means eligible.

To Mrs. Eaton.

Tunis, August 15th, 1800.

YOU will probably feel anxious to know by every occasion, the situation of my health and affairs, particularly as you may have heard that the plague is in this city. With satisfaction I announce to you that we are no longer alarmed by that destroyer. It is now six days since any accident has happened; and we have a flattering hope that the malady has subsided altogether. I am, thank God, in perfect health. My affairs are on a good footing: my prospects flattering. My resolutions to return to America next spring fixed.

Being charged with the affairs of the Danish nation, I redeemed six prise vessels for their Captains; but they, failing in payment, have abandoned the vessels to me. If no unforeseen accident befal me, we may count on a speculation here of ten thousand dollars, on a moderate calculation: and the business conducted on the broadest principles of equity and honor. I purchased on credit, of the Government of Tunis. No man has, at this moment, more credit nor influence here than the *American Consul.* After a year of the most anxious perplexity and concern,

fortune began to play into my hands, and the fickle Goddess has almost persuaded me that she will not immediately change sides. I shall be careful to add my exertions to hers; and without some unforeseen impediment, I know not why we may not keep company till I may have the felicity to consign the product of our enterprises to a Lady of a much more stable and constant character than Dame Fortune. In short, if I should happen to make a handsome property here, I trust no candid commentator will say I have not merited it.

Does any body know in America what has caused the removal of my respected, loved, honored *friend* Mr. Pickering? It is impossible, if any thing is impossible, that he should be capable of malfeasance of office. Pray let me know what common fame says on the subject. I lament his disgrace; for I cannot, without strong reasons, believe he has merited it. If that man be not faithful and just, I will no more hope to find an honest man among the race of beings on whom God is said to have stamped his own image.

To Mr. Pickering.

Tunis, November 4th, 1800.

MY conjecture has been on the rack and turned bankrupt on the subject of your removal. A suspicion of delinquency cannot have a moment's existence: for, if this were true, the chief Magistrate would not lose a moment in justifying himself to the public by exposing facts. It is not impossible that such a sacrifice may have been thought necessary to the security of an impending election. Gen. Marshal, it is presumed, has more influence to the southward than his predecessor. And who can say that this *election* may not be necessary to the safety of the state? *And if so "it is expedient that one man should die for the people;* and that the whole nation perish not!" But however necessary *such an election*

may be to the *safety of the state*, I am apprehensive the measure, resorted to in order to secure it, will defeat its own object. Aristides will be Aristides still; and the very faction who were tired of hearing him called the *just* will honor in exile whom they dreaded in office; and detest the hand that has wronged him; for however fond men are of pushing their resentments and carrying their measures by all means, they cannot but hate the instrument of injustice which favors them. The chief magistrate, however upright may have been his motives, will add nothing to his interest from opposition; while he hazards to alienate his supporters by an act which admits a suspicion of sinister rather than patriotic views.

To Mrs. Eaton.

Tunis, November 6th, 1800.

MY last letter was dated 15th August. In that I mentioned that I had redeemed six Danish prize vessels. But I have restored them again to their original proprietors. Ask you why? Because there is more pleasure in being generous than rich. I could undoubtedly have saved eight or ten thousand dollars by the speculation. But, "*man wants but little*, nor that little long." I have had the pleasure of seeing eighty six unhappy captives embark in these vessels and shape their course for their native country.

After I had resigned the Danish affairs into the hands of their proper Agent, I received from the Admiral, charged with a commission to arrange existing difficulties, the following letter, viz.

"*On board the Factor in the Road of Tunis.*
September 27th, 1800.

Sir,

I should neglect my duty if, before leaving this Road, I should refuse myself the honor and

the pleasure to repeat to you how grateful I am for the services you have had the goodness to render my king and country, both at the time of our misintelligence with Tunis and at the instant of negociating a truce ; in the first case by regarding with singular care his subjects in chains here ; in the second by aiding with your light the measures necessary to produce the desired accommodation. I am here but the organ of my sovereign, to whom I have already, by my first reports, communicated what you have done for us. The multitude of objects to him then submitted did not allow me to extend this subject to the extent of my wishes ; but certainly I shall not fail by the first occasion to finish the agreeable part I have begun. And I flatter myself, Sir, on my return here to be specially charged by his Majesty to give you assurances of his sense of obligation. Have the goodness in the mean time, Sir, to accept the particular assurance of my personal gratitude, as well for the influence you have been pleased to use during the course of the negociation of which a happy issue is the effect, as also for the great politeness you have shown myself and gentlemen under my orders attached to the service of his Danish Majesty.

With perfect esteem and consideration,
I have the honor to be,
Sir, your most humble
and very obliged servant.
(Signed) KOEFAED.

To Mr. WILLIAM EATON,
Consul of the United States of America at Tunis."

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Cathcart to Mr. Eaton, unfolds a curious trait of Mahometan intolerance and superstition.

Tripoli, Feb. 17th, 1800.

CAPT. MARCO being detained here by contrary winds, gives me an opportunity of informing

you of the following facts, by which you will be enabled in some measure to form an opinion of our Monarch's character. We not having had any *rain* since the 20th of last April, except a very small shower on the 8th of December, the Bon. the 12th inst. gave the following ridiculous order : that all the youth of the city, should assemble, and each take a stone, and repair to the Cadi's seat, where he administers justice to the populace ; and then and there heave a stone at him, as a mark of the just detestation the Bashaw has for all acts of injustice : and although he could not prove any thing against said civil magistrate, he was led to believe that he must have committed several acts of the most flagrant injustice, as nothing less could have incensed the great and only Allah to that degree as to cause him to withhold his bounty from this great, populous and antient Pachalic, the abode of the faithful and terror of its enemies. He farther ordered that, if the Cadi was not present, they should cast the stones at his seat ; which would be sufficient, as the prophet would intercede for them in virtue of their just intention, without insisting on the rigor of the act. The boys, through ignorance of the order, or malice, I know not which, proceeded to his worship's seat ; and, not finding him there, demolished it, and filled it with stones : and then went in a body to his dwelling house. The servants being apprized of their coming, barricaded the doors, so that they could not get in. They however filled the door with stones, until it was rendered unserviceable, and then retired with exultation. This happened on a very cloudy day, wind about S. S. E. which is a land wind, and extremely warm, the air impregnated with small sand from the desert ; the whole indicating a thunder storm and rain. The prophet, however, this time was inexorable. The wind came round to the N. W. and fine clear weather ensued. On the 13th, wind to the southward as before, the sun obscured with clouds and sand indicated rain. The Bash-

aw, in order to ensure success beyond all probability of doubt, ordered the boys to destroy the apparatus of the synagogue. This was a feast for them. They went in a body around with stones. The lamp with seven branches was destroyed : the holy oil was spilt : the tabernacle was polluted : the holy writings were thrown down and torn : the vail of the temple was rent in twain ; and they played the very devil in the *sanctum sanctorum.*

When the populace in any country finds themselves vested with power, they generally are either ignorant of the extent delegated to them, or maliciously surpass its bounds. The boys, not content with their atchievment at the synagogue, went into several of the Jews houses, and broke their moveables, and hove stones at the poor creatures, who had no other alternative but a precipitate flight. The maraboots paraded the streets, and marine, and threw stones at the Jews and Christians, in sign of their detestation and enmity for all orders of men but those that profess the true Mussulman faith. An imperial Captain was wounded on the eye brow by one of those holy missile weapons, which was the only Christian that was corporally hurt by this ceremony : but our feelings must have been callous not to have sensibly felt the horrors of our humiliating situation. Does not humanity recoil, my dear sir, at the indignity these poor Jews continually suffer, and yet they content themselves at the very instant of receiving them, by planning clandestine schemes of retaliation ; and are, or seem, perfectly happy, when they have, (by the practice of the most consummate deception, which they study from their infancy) over reached or taken advantage of an enemy of their religion, be the acquisition ever so trifling, they retire to their dwellings with their ill acquired gains, and exult in an atchievment, the perpetration of which with us would be branded with infamy.

The prophet, who had been in the dumps during the whole time of the Ramadan, and had not paid

the least regard to the fasting and prostration of the true believers, was now so pleased with the persecutions of his fellow men, that he interceded so effectually with the immortal Allah ! that the windows of heaven were opened on the 14th inst. and the rain descended in torrents, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which lasted until the night of the 16th, when the wind coming to the N. W. it cleared, and we have now fine weather. The Jews are of opinion that their holy things will share a similar fate every dry season, and that this will be quoted as a precedent.

EXTRACTS.

To Gen. Marshall, Secretary of State.

Tunis, September 2d, 1800.

AT the sacrifice of eight vessels and cargoes, and 61,440 Spanish dollars for the redemption of eighty six captives, the Danes have obtained a *truce* with the Regency of Tunis for four months. A history of this two month's bloodless war would exhibit a picture worthy of—Danes!

France on the other hand without a sacrifice has obtained a truce during the war with Europe, and a release of all her citizens without redemption.

It is a maxim of the Barbary States, that "The Christians who would be on good terms with them must *fight well* or *pay well*." France and Denmark bear testimony to this maxim.

The six Danish vessels, mentioned in a former communication, which I purchased of this Regency for the owners, I have restored to their respective masters on condition of the Commodore redeeming my credit and reimbursing actual disbursements.

To the Secretary of State.

Tunis, November 1st, 1800.

I WAS at the palace this morning and yesterday. Says the Bey; "What am I to deduce from all your assurances of punctuality on the part of your government?" I answered: your Excellency will have the goodness to believe that when information of our definitive arrangements was received in the United States, the stores, which we have stipulated as the condition of peace with you, were growing on our mountains, at the sources of our rivers. "Am I to suppose then," said he! "your guns and your powder, comprised in that stipulation, were growing on your mountains? You

find no difficulty in discharging your obligations with Algiers. Do you suppose me less able than Algiers to compel the punctual observance of treaties ?" By no means, said I ; if we have been more attentive to Algiers than to you, it is not because we consider you less respectable, but more just than Algiers. " We must make an end of compliment ;" said he. " It would give me pain to affront you ; but facts justify the conclusion, that if you suppose me just, you study to amuse my justice. Denmark may furnish you a caution against such a reliance." I suppose, said I, your Excellency can have no doubt that the residue of our peace presents have long since been at sea : but the winds have been many days against us. " They have been against us three years ;" said he. Your Excellency will recollect they were very favorable last spring. " Not so favorable as I had been flattered to believe they would have been ;" said he. What can be done ? I asked, shall we make war upon the elements ? " You can chuse your measures : and you need not be surprised if I reserve to myself the same privilege ;" he answered. Permit me, said I, to demand an explanation of this *entendre*. " Events will explain it ;" said he. I observed : if this manner of evasion cover a *menace* I ought to know it for my government in giving passports to your cruisers. " In this," said he, " you will use your own discretion. If you give them it is an evidence that you are at peace with me. If you refuse them, I have nothing serious to apprehend from it." Cutting reply ! to which I made no rejoindre. I could draw nothing direct from him. I do not know whether to sound an alarm or still to say, *all is well*. But I venture to repeat, if something do not appear soon to my relief, I shall shortly be compelled, instead of ordinary communications, to make my monthly reports of *American Slaves*. And if government will take the trouble to review my letters they cannot but be sensible that this event has less resulted from any delin-

quency of my communications than from want of suitable respect to them. I pray Heaven for the speedy arrival of the Ship expected from New York. Mean time I am at loss for projects to amuse the Regency. Sidi Joseph, Saputapa, now prime, as he has long been principal, minister (Sidi Mustapha Coggea the old minister having died the 10th ultimo, aged 83) has a large Danish prise ship spoiling at Porto Farina, which he has been a long time by his commercial agent, teasing me to buy. I am resolved to enter on a negociation to this effect. And if I can obtain a credit three or four months for the amount of its value, which cannot exceed four or five thousand dollars, it may divert his attention from greater objects. And if I should make a sacrifice in the speculation it is presumed the important object it aims to secure will induce the government of the United States to indemnify me.

To the Secretary of State.

Tunis, December 8th, 1800.

ON the 25th ult. it was intimated to me that there was an American ship in the road of Porto Farina. Instantly I sent off an express to enquire for facts. On the 27th, received a note from Captain Coffin of the Anna Maria, informing me that he had been ten days in the road without being able to communicate with the shore, by reason of the weather, which was extremely bad. On the 28th, I asked a boat of the Bey to board her, which he said should be ready on the 30th, accordingly on the 30th, I embarked at Tunis in an open boat, and arrived on board, ten leagues, at eight in the evening of the same day. On the morning following, 1st December, had the honor of receiving your letter of 30th August, covering an invoice and bill of the ship's lading. Yesterday I returned to Tunis. Such part of the cargo as was between decks was chiefly discharged before I left the ship. The quality of the articles are acknowledged

to be good ; but it is objected that the plank and the oars are *too short* ; and the government affects to be dissatisfied that the keels, guns, and powder are not come forward. I believe the facts to be, the government are dissatisfied that *any thing has come forward.* If this opinion require evidence, I consider it sufficient to state that the United States are the only nation which have, at this moment, a rich *unguarded* commerce in the Mediterranean ; and that the Barbary Regencies are *Pirates.*

I take to myself the merit of having once more at least suspended an expedition which was prepared for *us.* But we are yet deficient ; and I am not without apprehension that this deficiency will be resorted to as a pretext for surprising our merchantmen. In which case they might do us incalculable mischief. These are considerations which, it is supposed, should compel exertions to fulfil our obligations with this Regency. I have very little prospect of reducing the Bey's claim for the jewels, although he is not yet informed that I have commissioned for them. The immense concessions he has received the summer past from Spain, Denmark, Sicily and Sweden, have so diminished the condition of our peace in his eye that he says it is *a trifle for so great a commercial nation in consideration for the advantages of a free trade in this sea.* This government affect great personal respect and even friendship for me ; it is the assassin's decoy. In return however, I make their civilities reciprocal. But, again I repeat, unless our government change their mode of intercourse with these Regencies, especially with this, so far as to be punctual, I have no means of maintaining the peace ; and it would be criminal in me to amuse the government with such a confidence. The Anna Maria will probably be discharged within her lay days.

O'Brien to Eaton.

Algiers, October 19th, 1800.

Sir,

I WROTE you, and forwarded your letters, announcing the arrival of the Washington the 17th September. On the 9th instant said ship was ready for sea, and would sail on the 10th, for the United States; but the Dey, in a great fury, declared to me, that if said ship did not proceed with his ambassador and regalia for Constantinople, he no longer held to his friendship with the United States. We had no alternative but to acquiesce, or war would be the result, and, I am convinced, detention of the ship and crew, besides every other loss from a sudden surprise. It is a forced business. The ship is under sail and is to return, God knows when; but, sir, if any accident happens, depend, on the first news, said Potent Dey will send out his corsaires and take all Americans in order to repay himself. The ship is the peace of the United States with Algiers.* I have had a severe squall.

On the 14th instant arrived the ship Brutus, Captain Brown. The Dey will insist that said ship will proceed to Rhodes to bring him a cargo of Turks. Observe said ship has 1056 cases oil and soap on board. The Dey told me if said ship did not go he would oblige her per force. No pay.—No consideration for the cargo. Nothing to be considered but the Dey's own despotic will.

Crew of the Washington, 131,	}	331.
Ambassador and Suit, 100,		
Negro women and children, 100,		

4 horses; 150 sheep; 25 horned cattle; 4 lyons; 4 tygers; 4 antilopes; 12 parrots: funds and regalia amount to nearly one million of dollars. &c. &c. We want six frigates in this sea to wait

* I do not believe it. Note by Eaton.

the event of the Washington making the voyage safe or not.

Notes of Eaton.

Genius of my country! How art thou prostrate! Hast thou not yet one son whose soul revolts; whose nerves convulse, bloodvessels burst, and heart indignant swells, at thought of such debasement;

Shade of *Washington!* Behold thy orphaned sword hung on a slave, a voluntary slave, and serve a pirate! I never thought to find a corner of this slanderous world where baseness and American were wedded. But here we are the byeword of derision; quoted as precedents of baseness, even by Danes!

Shall Tunis also lift his thievish arm, smite our scarred cheek, then bid us kiss the rod! *This is the price of peace!* But if we will have peace at such a price, recal me, and send a *slave*, accustomed to abasement, to represent the nation. And furnish *ships of war*, and *funds*, and *slaves* to his support, and our immortal shame. History shall tell that the United States first volunteered a *ship of war*, equipt, a *carrier* for a pirate. It is written. Nothing but blood can blot the impression out. I frankly own, I would have lost the peace, and been myself empaled rather than yielded this concession. Will nothing rouse my country?

To Mr. Smith.

Tunis, March 9th, 1801.

THE present position I hold with Tunis seems to promise tranquility, at least until the issue of my adventure in the Anna Maria be known: but perhaps this prospect should not induce a relaxation in the measures of government relative to fulfilling our treaty stipulations. No longer ago than yesterday, the Bey's Prime Minister asked me when I *expected the Jewels the Bey had demanded?* I told

him, *never, according to the list he had ordered :* but, that our Minister in England had received the President's instructions to procure a present in London, as a testimony of the respectful and friendly sentiments he entertained for the talents and character of the Bashaw of Tunis, which would probably be out next summer ; but I had no authority to say it would correspond with the note forwarded ; on the contrary was pretty certain it would be something short of it. The Minister replied with some agitation ; " If the President does not send the *whole*, the Bey will receive *none*." Tell the President so, said I, and he will send none. He is a plain, upright man, who loves his friends, and is obliging ; but very much in the habit of doing as he pleases : *and if you affront him you will find him as hard headed as an* ENGLISHMAN.* Here the subject ended : but I could not discern that the Minister felt himself affronted at this frankness. * * * * * * *

To the Secretary of State.

Tunis, April 10th, 1801.

Sir,

THE dispatches herewith inclosed *from the Consul of the United States at Tripoli* seem to me of so much consequence to the safety and interest of our maritime and commercial citizens, and, in the event, to the revenue of the government, that I not only feel myself justifiable, but constrained by duty, to use extraordinary means to communicate them to the department of state ; I have therefore chartered a Ragusa brig, to proceed directly with them to the United States, on conditions expressed in a translated copy of the charter party herewith inclosed. I prefer this flag as least liable to be turned out of its course, and I dispatch the vessel in ballast to prevent all possible annoyance. The expense of this expedient bears so small a proportion to the interests it aims to secure, that I cannot doubt it will receive

* A proverbial saying among the Turks.

the President's approbation. It is now more than nine months since the alarm passed through this office from Mr. Cathcart; it would seem some fatality had intercepted it in its passage to America: possibly Mr. O'Brien's construction of the cause of the Bashaw's demand may have betrayed government into a security. Facts are now indubitable. The Bashaw's corsairs are actually out and fitting out against Americans; and the agent of our government at Tripoli is taking measures for the safety of himself and family. I have advised him not to give his passports to the corsairs except the Bashaw will explicitly declare they are not destined against Americans; and, in case of refusal of such explicit declaration, to make haste to get himself and family to Tunis. I advance this counsel because it is become a stratagem in these Bashaws to decoy their game with Consular passports; and because, in case of war, Mr. Cathcart's remaining in the hands of Tripoli would tend rather to embarrass than to assist any measures government should take to reestablish the peace. The Bashaw demands, as a condition of sparing the United States, *two hundred and twenty five thousand Spanish dollars*, prompt payment, and *twenty five thousand annually*. Terms to which the Swedes have agreed, and which will be demanded of the Danes. But if our government yield these terms to the Bashaw of Tripoli it will be absolutely necessary to make provisions for a requisition of double the amount for the Bey of Tunis. Algiers also will be to be respected according to rank. If the United States will have a free commerce in this sea they must defend it. There is no alternative. The restless spirit of these marauders cannot be restrained.

I remain with great esteem,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
and cordial friend,
WILLIAM EATON.

War was declared by the Bashaw of Tripoli against the United States, May 11th, 1801. The following Protest of Mr. Cathcart, and extracts of letters, will unfold the causes of this war.

TO ALL WHOM IT DOTH OR MAY CONCERN.

KNOW ye, by these presents, that I, JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, Agent and Consul of the United States of America in and for the City and Regency of Tripoli in Barbary, finding just cause to complain of the conduct of Jusef Bashaw, Supreme Commandant of the said City and Regency of Tripoli, and his Ministers, towards the government and citizens of the said United States of America, and conceiving it my duty to protest against said conduct: Now know ye, that I do hereby protest against said Jusef Bashaw, Supreme Commandant of said City and Regency, and against his Ministers and Counsellors, in behalf of the government of the United States of America, myself and fellow citizens, for the following reasons.—to wit.

First. Be it known that on the 17th of August 1799, said Jusef Bashaw, Supreme Commandant of the Regency of Tripoli, at the instigation of Morad Raiz, Admiral of the Cruisers of this Regency, refused to receive the printed passports issued by the Consul of the United States of America in this Regency, in obedience to his orders from government, thereby claiming a superiority, a preference to the Regencies of Algiers and Tunis, he being duly informed that the said passports were accepted in the same form by the chiefs of the said Regencies, and in order, as in my firm belief, to have a pretext to send the merchant vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States into this port for examination, said Admiral Morad having publicly declared that he would go to sea with the vessels under his command without any passport from this office, if they were not

modified to his liking and worded similar to the passports of the British. And the said Jusef Bashaw, on application being made by the Consul of the United States, refusing to exert his authority, is a clear and sufficient evidence that he was accessory to the insolent demand of said Morad, or, more properly speaking, that said Morad acted, if not by his orders, at least with his consent, thereby forcing the said Consul of the United States to deviate from his instructions, and to submit from imperious necessity to a humiliation incompatible with the honor and dignity of the nation he has the honor to represent.

Second. Be it known that in the month of October 1799, said JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, Consul for the United States in this Regency, having received several bales of cloth to dispose of, said Jusef Bashaw sent the broker Leon Farfara, to the Consular house, requesting said Consul to give him the preference in the sale of said cloth, promising to pay for the same like any other individual, and as cloths were sold of the same quality. I, knowing how he had served the late Venitian and Swedish Consuls on a similar occasion, sent said Leon Farfara to inform him that the cloth was not mine, and that I expected to be paid immediately, in order to be enabled to make a remittance to my correspondent, which he the said Bashaw promised to do. I therefore confiding in his promise, which I was taught to believe was sacred to all true Mussulmen, and more particularly to a Prince of the august family of Caramanly, did deliver unto him sundry pieces of cloth, to the value of five thousand seven hundred and eighty seven yuslicks, current coin of this Regency, which at the same was worth Spanish dollars, two thousand three hundred and fourteen, and to cents, two yuslicks and one half being then equal to one Dollar silver, but at present the coin of this Regency having depreciated, owing to the great quantity of alloy mixed in the coinage, a dollar passes for three yuslicks which makes a difference of

one fifth part, or twenty per cent. That I have repeatedly demanded the above sum, and have always been put off from time to time with promises, until the 22d day of September 1800, when some oil belonging to said Bashaw being selling at public vendue, I sent my drogoman to purchase a barrel for the use of my house, value about eighteen dollars, which the Hasnadar refused to give unto him unless I sent the money to pay for it first. I sent the drogoman immediately to the Bashaw to know the reason, who repeated the same words, saying the oil was not his, but belonged to the crew of the Cruisers; that if I wanted oil I must first send the cash. I immediately sent for Farfara, who had acted as broker in the sale of the cloth, and desired him to demand a positive answer from the Bashaw, whether he intended to pay me or not, that I was resolved to be kept no longer in suspense, and offered to take the money at the present value, which is only 1929, dollars in full of all demands: the Bashaw sent the same answer which he had sent above fifty times before, that he would pay me, but that at present it was not convenient, and desired Leon Farfara to inform me that if I had a mind I might take one of the Swedish prizes for the money, which I declined, knowing that he, having a quantity of prize and other goods on hand for exportation, would probably force me to take a cargo of said goods to Leghorn or elsewhere, thereby exposing the United States to become responsible for said goods or their value, should any accident happen to said vessel, in the same manner as the claim originated upon Sweden; which was the first and principal cause of the present war. I therefore deemed it more expedient to entirely lose the forementioned sum, than to run a risque which probably might involve my nation in a war. And as it appears from the above detail that said Bashaw never intends to pay the above sum in cash according to agreement, notwithstanding I have his receipt or promisory note under the great seal of this

Regency, and I having waited above one year for the payment of the said sum without effect, I therefore debit the United States the said sum in my account current, leaving the government of the said United States to make the claim a national claim; no individual being bound to be responsible for the arbitrary acts of the chiefs of the Barbary States, at the same time making myself responsible to the United States for said sum or any part thereof which may be recovered from said Jusef Bashaw hereafter.

Third. Be it known, that in the months of May and October 1800. the said Jusef Bashaw. Supreme Commandant of the said Regency of Tripoli, having made certain demands upon the United States in direct violation of the 10th article of the treaty existing between the United States of America and the Regency of Tripoli, which the Consul of the United States resident here found incompatible with the honor and interest of the nation he represents, to comply with, that said Jusef Bashaw, in direct violation of the 12th article of the said existing treaty, did publicly declare that he would only wait until he received answers from the President of the United States of America, which if not satisfactory, that he would then declare war against said United States, as is more fully explained in my dispatches to government, copies of which were forwarded to our Consuls at Algiers and Tunis: and whereas it is particularly specified in the 10th article of said treaty ,that the money and presents demanded by the Bey or Bashaw of Tripoli is a full and satisfactory consideration on his part and on the part of his subjects for said treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, and that no pretence of any periodical tribute or further payment is ever to be made by either party, and said Bashaw of Tripoli having acknowledged the recipt of the money and presents stipulated by said treaty, I find myself justifiable both to God and my Country, in refusing to comply with the said Bashaw's unjust demands upon said United States

of America. And whereas it is stipulated in the twelfth article of the aforesaid treaty, that in case, of any dispute arising from a violation of any of the articles of said treaty no appeal to arms shall be made, nor shall war be declared, on any pretence whatever : but if the Consul, residing at the place where the dispute shall happen, shall not be able to settle the same, an amicable reference shall be made to the mutual friend of both parties, the Dey of Algiers ; the parties thereby engaging to abide by his decision; and he by virtue of his signature to the said treaty having engaged for himself and his successors to declare the justice of the case according to the true interpretation of the said treaty and to use all the measures in his power to inforce the observance of the same.

Now know all men by these presents, that I, JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, Consul for the United States of America, in said Regency of Tripoli, do protest and declare that the demands made by the Bashaw of Tripoli upon the United States of America are of such a nature that I cannot settle the dispute arising therefrom ; and that I conceive that I should not only be deviating from my official duty but likewise acting as an accomplice and in conjunction with said Bashaw of Tripoli, to treat our good friends the Dey and Divan of Algiers with indignity and disrespect ,was I to refrain from making the foresaid amicable reference. I therefore, in virtue of these presents, do make the foresaid amicable reference, transmitting the whole to the Consul General of the United States of America at Algiers, who is possessed of every information relative to the state of our affairs in this Regency, having received duplicates of my dispatches for the Government of the United States, at the same time leaving it at the discretion of the Consul General of the United States at Algiers to take such measures as he in his judgment may think most likely to promote the interests of the United States and to maintain the peace of our Coun

try with this Regency upon honorable and equitable terms.

Fourth. Be it known that on the 25th of September 1800, Raiz Amor Shelli, commander of a Tripoline corsair of 18 guns, captured the American brig Catherine, James Carpenter master, of and from New York, and bound to Leghorn, valued at 50,000 dollars or thereabouts; that said vessel was kept in possession of the subjects of Tripoli until the 15th of October in the evening, and was then delivered up to the Consul of the United States, in consequence of the Bashaw of Tripoli having wrote a letter to the President of the United States, the purport of which being already known needs no repetition, and that said vessel was exposed to much loss and peril, as appears by the said master of the brig, his protest already forwarded to the Consul General at Algiers, and that said brig was plundered of effects valued by said master, James Carpenter, at 397 dollars, whereof was recovered to the value of 180 dollars, the value 217 dollars being irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the Bashaw had given positive orders to Hamet Raiz, Minister of the marine, to cause every article that could be found to be restored to their lawful owner: yet said Raiz of the marine did not comply with the Bashaw's orders (and he being the Bashaw's brother in law it was out of my power to compel him) but on the contrary prevaricated from day to day from the 16th to the 21st of October, with an intent no doubt to share the spoils with the aforesaid Raiz Amor Shelli, and on the night of the 21st instant sent Abram Farfara to inform me that if the brig did not sail by day light in the morning, the port would be embargoed; and gave me to understand that if I did not promise to pay him anchorage for said brig she would be detained until the embargo should be taken off. This command I absolutely refused to comply with. On the 22d at day light I ordered the brig to get under way, and could not get the pilot to go on board

until said Abram Farfara paid the Raiz of the marine five dollars and 75 cents anchorage, which notwithstanding it being an unjust demand I complied with sooner than have the brig detained one day longer. I therefore for the aforesaid reasons, and for each of the aforementioned arbitrary acts, do protest against the aforesaid Jusef Bashaw, supreme commandant of the Regency of Tripoli in Barbary, and against his ministers and Counsellors. But more especially against said Morad Raiz, Admiral of the cruisers of this Regency, for being the cause of my altering the national passports of the United States of America, and against Hamet Raiz, minister of the marine, for the reasons before mentioned as well as for falsly, insidiously and slanderously asserting in my presence and in the presence of Capt. Carpenter, that the Consul General of the United States, Richard O'Brien, and the broker or banker of the United States Micaiah Cohen Bocri, had informed him, when he was last at Algiers, that the government of the United States had alone paid to the house of Bocri and Co. one hundred thousand dollars for their influence; thereby irritating the said Jusef Bashaw against the government and citizens of the United States of America, as the said Jusef Bashaw seeming to give credit to the falshood of said Hamet Raiz and emphatically said that the government of the United States had treated an Algerine Jew better, and with more liberality, than they had the said Bashaw of Tripoli. Notwithstanding I gave the direct lie without ceremony or hesitation to the said Hamet Raiz, and told the Bashaw that I wondered how he could give credit to so barefaced a falshood: for even had the United States given the above mentioned sum, the party concerned would be the last people in the world to divulge the same, it not only comporting neither with their honor nor interest, especially to Hamet Raiz, who was not only an enemy to the United States, but likewise to his Excellency the Bashaw of Tripoli, he

having by his false insinuations endeavored to persuade the Bashaw to annul the treaty of peace and amity at present subsisting between the said United States and this Regency, to the prejudice of his character, honor and dignity, whose word and signature I had always supposed inviolably sacred: and that said Jusef Bashaw, in answer to the above, said, "You say that Hamet Raiz lies, and I say he tells the truth," thereby discrediting all I had said and giving full credit to the imposition of said Hamet Raiz, or minister of the marine.

Now all men, know that for the reasons afore assigned, I, JAMES LEANDER CATHCART, Agent and Consul for the United States of America, in the Regency of Tripoli, having shewn sufficient cause to enter this protest against the said Jusef Bashaw, his aforesaid ministers and counsellors; that I do by these presents most solemnly protest against the conduct of the said Jusef Bashaw, his aforesaid ministers and counsellors as being unjust and in direct violation of the 10th and 12th articles of the existing treaty between the United States of America and the said Regency of Tripoli.

And I, JAMES LEANDER CATHCART do further declare that the dispute arising from the violation of said treaty is of such a nature that I cannot adjust the same before I receive express instructions from the President of the United States of America, or until our good friends the Dey and Divan of Algiers shall decide upon the justice of the cause according to the true interpretation of the existing treaty between the United States of America and this Regency: and that I do hereby make an amicable reference to our good friends the Dey and Divan of the Regency of Algiers, promising in the name of the United States of America to abide by their decision, agreeably to the true meaning of the stipulation contained in the 12th article of the treaty of peace and amity concluded between said United States of America and the Regency of Tripoli, by the interven-

tion of the late Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers and under the immediate guarantee of said Regency, the said treaty having been duly ratified by the reigning Dey of Algiers, Mustafa Bashaw, whom God preserve.

Now I, James Leander Cathcart, Agent and Consul of the United States of America, conceiving it my duty so to do, do now transmit this said protest to the Chancery of the United States at Tunis, in order that it may be there duly registered, and from thence forwarded to the Consul General of the United States of America at Algiers, in order to prevent, as much as depends upon me, any appeal being made to arms, leaving the conducting of the whole affair entirely to the Consul General of the United States of America for the time being, as before mentioned, not doubting but he will take such measures as he in his judgment may think most likely to promote the interests of the United States of America, and to maintain the peace of our Country with this Regency upon honorable and equitable terms.

In testimony of the above, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of my office, at the chancery of the United States of America, in the City of Tripoli, in Barbary, this 29th, day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, and in the twenty fifth year of the independence of the United States of America.

§ L. S. §

(Signed.) JAMES LEANDER CATHCART.

Extracts from Cathcart to Eaton.

Tripoli, February 20th, 1801.

I HAVE only time by this courier to give you the following extract from my journal, which you shall have in full by the next conveyance.

Saturday, 7th Febuary arrived Hadgi Mahamud La Saed, with Mr. O'Brien's letter in duplicates,

the one enclosed to Leon Farfara and the other to Siddi Mohammed Daguize.

It being Saturday the letters were not brought to my house until nine P. M. and after Siddi Mohammed Daguize and Farfara had been at the castle : the letters were dated at Algiers, December the 31st, 1800.

Sunday 8th. Waited upon Siddi Mohammed Daguize : requested him to inform the Bashaw that I had a present to deliver to his Excellency, and would be glad to know when I was permitted to wait upon him with it.

Siddi Daguize answered, that the Bashaw knew there was a present arrived from Algiers, and that his Excellency had ordered him to inform me that he would neither receive me nor the present; that he was determined to let the whole world see that he respected not the interferance of the Dey of Algiers, and that he would declare war in form against the United States of America in forty days from the date of the arrival of the presents. I made use of every argument to dissuade the Bashaw from putting his menace into execution, knowing that Daguize would report the whole conversation to the Bashaw. Daguize answered, that he knew the Bashaw had no reason to declare war against us, and that he had informed him several times that, in the present state of his affairs, it was not his interest to displease the Dey of Algiers ; that he advised the Bashaw to respect the request of the Dey, from a conviction that it was his master's interest so to do, and not with any intention to befriend the United States ; but that he was sorry to find the Bashaw paid but very little respect to his advice, being surrounded by a set of mercenaries, who had hardly common sense, and who where continually persuading him to declare war against the United States, and assuring him that the Dey of Algiers would only be angry for a few days : that by capturing the ships and enslaving the citizens of the United States, the government would be

obliged to come, cap in hand, and sue for peace, upon the same terms Sweden has: and that America was at too great a distance to send a considerble force into this sea.

I combated these ideas but with little success, and Siddi Mohammed Daguize informed me that I might depend the Bashaw would put his scheme into execution; was it only to try the experiment; that the only service he could do me was to procure me an audience next day, when I would hear from the Bashaw himself his determination.

On the 9th inst. at 3 P. M. I procured an audience, which lasted for about three hours, the Bashaw broke silence in a blunt manner and asked me what I wanted. I have come to ask permission to present your Excellency with some Regalia, as a token of the friendly intention of the President of the United States, and to know when you will be at leisure to receive it. "Never, by God, never!" said he. For what reason?

"Because it was not intended for me." It never can be supposed that the Bashaw of Tripoli has occasion for such trifles. Tripoli is different from what it was some years ago.

I observed that probably his Excellency did not know what the Regalia consisted of. "Yes I do," said he, "better than you do; and if it was ten times as valuable I would not receive it. You may send it from whence it came.

I now swear by God, my religion, the head of my Son Siddi Aly, (who was sitting by him,) and, by this right hand, that I will never be at peace with your nation until your President appoints a person to negociate a treaty with me without the interference of Algiers or any other nation. I now declare your treaty no longer binding, and that I will declare war against America immediately if you do not give me assurance that your President will alter the said treaty to my liking, and give me 250,000 dollars as the price of the said new treaty: and that

your nation will annually pay me the sum of twenty thousand, to continue the said new peace after it is made."

I made use of every argument in my power, which produced no effect whatever. These terms the Bashaw said were the only ones he had to propose, that the alteration in the treaty he insisted on above every thing else, and swore he would never enter into any negociation with an agent of the United States upon any other terms, even was he sure to lose his kingdom, and with it his head. With this he drew his hand horizontally across his gullet. After three hours litigation, he said he would give us *time*, if we would *pay him well for it*, and demanded 100,000 dollars for six months. At last, the result was, that he would wait eighteen months, if I would give him eighteen thousand dollars, and assurance that the President of the United States would comply with the rest of his unjust demands. I negatived the whole, as you may well suppose.

To the Secretary of State.

Tunis, June 28th, 1801.

ON the night of the eighteenth, a fire broke out in the Bey's palace, which in its progress, consumed fifty thousand stands of arms. The second day following I received a message to wait on the Bey; but was at that moment confined to my bed with a billious fever, so that it was not till this morning that I have been able to go to the palace in my carriage. The Bey's object in calling me was, to demand of the United States *ten thousand stands of arms*. I refused to state his demand. "I have apportioned my loss," said he, "among my friends; and this quota falls to you to furnish: tell your government to send them without delay." It is impossible, said I, to state this claim to my government. We have no magazines of small arms. The organization of our national strength is different from that

of every other nation on earth. Each citizen carries his own arms, always ready for battle. When threatened with invasion, or actually invaded, detachments from the whole national body are sent by rotation to serve in the field : so that we have no need of standing armies nor depositories of arms. It would be an affront to my government, and an imposition on the Bey, to state to them this demand, or to flatter him with a prospect of receiving it. "Send for them from France or England," said the Minister. You, said I, are in a much more eligible position to make this commission from Europe than we are. "If the Bey had any intentions of *purchasing* the arms from Europe," said the Minister, "he could do it without your agency. He did not send for you to ask your advice, but to *order* you to communicate his demands to your government." But I come here, said I, to assure you that I will make no such communication to my government. "The Bey will write himself," said he. If so, it will become my duty to forward his letter : but, at the same time, it is equally obligatory on me, to let the Bey be beforehand apprized, that he will never receive a single musket from the United States. I should suppose a respect to decency, if not a sense of gratitude, would dissuade the Bey from this new and extraordinary claim. Has he not, within eighteen months, received two large ships' cargoes in regalia ? Have we not now another ship laden for him on its passage ; and has he not, within sixty days, demanded cannon extraordinary of the United States ? At this rate, when are our payments to have an end ? "Never !" said the Minister. "As to the ships, you talk of, they are but the past payment of regalia you have long since owed us as the condition of peace. The other claims we make are such as we receive from all friendly nations once every two or three years : it is an established custom ; and you, like other Christians, will be obliged to conform to it." When we shall have completed the

payment of our peace stipulations you may never calculate on further donations. It is by treaty stipulated, as the condition of a perpetual peace, and any new claims on your part will be an infraction of that treaty, and will be so considered by us. You may therefore, at once, and forever, abandon the idea of future regalia; for I again assure you, in the name of my government and country, that the discharge of our treaty obligations will put an end to our contributions here.

"Your *contributions* here, as you think proper to call them," repeated the Minister, "will never have an end: if this be the language you think of holding at this court you may prepare yourself to leave the kingdom, and that very soon." If change of stile on my part, said I, be the condition of residence here, I will leave the Bey's kingdom tomorrow morning. "We will give you a month," said the Minister. I ask but six hours, I replied. "But you will write?" *No!* "It is your duty to write!" For delinquency in duty, this is not the place where I am to be questioned. "I tell you again," continued he, "your peace depends on your compliance with this demand of my master." If so, said I, on me be the responsibility of breaking the peace. I wish you a good morning!

Leaving the palace, I heard the Minister say to one of his colleagues, "By God, that man is mad! But we shall bring him to terms; never fear!"

I do not know how this affair will end. I shall not change my position.

EXTRACTS: MR. MADISON (SECRETARY OF STATE) TO EATON.

Department of State:

Washington, May 20th, 1801.

THE proofs which have been given by the Bashaw of Tripoli, of hostile designs against the United States, have, as you will learn from Commo-

dore Dale, determined the President to send into the Mediterranean a squadron of three Frigates and a sloop of war, under the command of that officer. Should war have been declared or hostilities commenced, this force will be immediately employed in the defence and protection of our commerce against the piracies of that Regency. It is hoped that the contagion will not have spread either to Tunis or Algiers ; but should one or both of them have followed the perfidious example, their corsairs will be equally repelled and punished.

The policy of exhibiting a naval force on the coast of Barbary, has long been urged by yourself and the other Consuls. The present moment is peculiarly favorable for the experiment, not only as it is a provision against an immediate danger, but as we are now at peace and amity with all the rest of the world, and as the force employed would, if at home, be at nearly the same expense, with less advantage to our mariners. The President has therefore every reason to expect the utmost exertions of your prudence and address, in giving the measure an impression most advantageous to the character and interests of the United States. In effecting this object, the means must be left in a great degree to your knowledge of the local and other circumstances, which cannot be understood at this distance. You will of course take due pains to satisfy the Bey, that the United States are desirous of maintaining peace with all nations, who are willing to live in peace, that they have given abundant evidence of their disposition to cultivate the friendship of the Barbary Regencies and of himself in particular, and that if the flag of the United States should be engaged in war with either of them, it will be a war of defence and necessity, not of choice or provocation. You will also give every friendly explanation and assurance, on this occasion, which may be requisite for the Consuls and Agents of other powers residing at Tunis.

You are authorised to inform the Bey of Tunis, that a vessel is now preparing to take in the cargo, which will complete the regalia due to him, and that no time will be lost in getting her on her voyage. The jewels, to the amount of $10,000, have, as you know, been ordered to be prepared in London. On the 28th December last, Mr. King wrote: "I have concluded to take immediate measures to provide the jewels enumerated in the list furnished by Mr. Eaton. Some of the articles can be soon prepared and sent: others, including the arms and almost all the jewelry, will require a long time to be prepared." If they are essential to the preservation of peace and the benefits of the treaty with the Bey, they must be yielded to him. The demand is nevertheless deemed so extortionate, that the President expects from you every practicable exertion to get rid of it, or as much as circumstances will permit you to withhold. The articles, withdrawn from the present, may be preserved, to be applied on some future occasion, which may demand them.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, September 5th, 1801.

THE inclosures, which I have the honor herewith to forward, will inform government, as accurately as I have the means, of our actual position and future prospects in regard to Tripoli, one circumstance only omitted, which is, a project in concert between the rightful Bashaw of Tripoli, now an exile in Tunis, and myself, to attack the usurper by land, while our operations are going on by sea. These two men are brothers; the younger is on the throne; having expelled the elder about eight or nine years ago. The subjects in general of the reigning Bashaw are very discontented, and ripe for revolt; they want nothing but confidence in the prospect of success. This confidence may be inspired by assurances of our determination to chas-

tise this Bashaw for his outrages against the United States. The Bey of Tunis, though prudence will keep him behind the curtain, I have strong reasons to believe, will cheerfully promote the scheme. He is in favor of the elder brother. The idea of dethroning our enemy, and placing a rightful Sovereign in his seat, makes a deeper impression on account of the lasting peace it will produce with that Regency, and the lesson of caution it will teach the other Barbary States. These are objects which, to me seem so clearly in our power that they ought to command exertions.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Nov. 17th, 1801.

THE manner in which the King of Denmark has been pleased to recognize my services the last summer, (inclosure B.) places me in somewhat of an embarrassed situation. I do not know, all things considered, whether the *token of satisfaction* his Majesty tenders me comes within the interdict of the construction of the constitution: I submit the question to government; and, in the mean time, have answered the board, (inclosure C.)

(Inclosure B. of the preceding letter.)

Copenhagen, July 11th, 1801.

Sir,

HIS Majesty, the King, having been informed of your kind proceedings towards his subjects, who last year had the misfortune of being made slaves by the Tunissians; as also of the service you have rendered the owners of six of the captured ships, by venturing to purchase them at the instances of the masters, and restoring since to the said owners, though upon a somewhat precarious security for getting reimbursed your expences; and of the friendly assistance which you have lent Commodore

Koefoed as he addressed himself to you; has been most graciously pleased to order us to transmit you the gold box ornamented with the initials of his Royal name, which will be delivered to you along with this letter, and which you will please to accept, as a token of his Majesty's most high satisfaction with regard to the services you have rendered the nation.

It is peculiarly pleasing for us, sir, to fulfil his Majesty's orders on this subject, as we entertain the highest sense of your very liberal and meritorious conduct; which suits entirely those relations of friendship and intimacy which subsist, and, we trust, will continue still increasing between both governments: and it shall be our particular care to give orders to the Danish Consuls on the coast of Barbary that they shall avail themselves of every opportunity that may occur for being of any service to the interests of the government of the United States and of individuals of the American nation: which we are happy to learn has already been done by his Majesty's Consul at Tripoli.

Captain Holck, of the navy, has been appointed his Majesty's Consul at Tunis; we beg leave, Sir, to recommend him to your friendly attentions, which he most assuredly will endeavor to secure by the ties of mutual esteem and confidence: and we must particularly request for him, that you, Sir, might be pleased to give him the advice and directions which a newly arrived stranger always, and especially in the country where you live, stands so much in need of.

We are, with particular esteem,
Sir, your very obedient Servants,
The Members of the Board for the affairs
relating to the states on the coast of Barbary.
(Signed) E. SCHIMELMAN STIEN BILLE."

(Inclosure C.)

American house at Tunis.
November 17th, 1801.

GENTLEMEN,

THE expression by which his Danish Majesty has been most graciously pleased to signify his approbation of my conduct, during the short period I acted as his medium of communication with this Regency, and which was last evening put into my hands by his Consul Capt. Holck, does me distinguished honor; and impresses at the same time a deep sense of obligation: but, as an article of the constitution of the United States ordains that, "no person holding an office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state" it is believed his Danish Majesty will be graciously pleased to allow me to submit for the decision of that body whether I may be permitted to hold this honorable testimonial of his satisfaction?

If in exercising the duties of a Christian and a man, I may have been serviceable to some of his Danish Majesty's subjects, who had unfortunately fallen into slavery here, the simplest evidence of his contentment would have been an ample gratification: I certainly acted with no other view of recompense.

I feel myself bound no less by the ties of sympathy and gratitude than by a consideration of the happy intelligence which subsists between the two governments, to tender Consul Holck, as well as every individual of the Danish nation, my best offices whenever they may be useful: the United States at this moment receive essential services from the friendly and judicious agency of his Danish Majesty's Consul, Mr. Nissen, at Tripoli.

I shall transmit a copy of the letter I have had the honor to receive from you to the government of the

United States; and I make no doubt that they will reciprocate the benevolent orders you have given your Consuls on the Barbary coast.

With perfect consideration
Your most obedient and
most humble Servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

To the honorable Members af the Board
relating to the States on the Barbary coast.
Copenhagen.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, December 12th, 1801.

I HAVE the honor to inform you that the Peace and Plenty, Capt. Richard Woods, under the convoy of the George Washington, arrived here on the evening of the first instant. She has already delivered her powder, (which, although somewhat damaged, has passed, with a bribe, to the surveyor,) and a small quantity of her plank. The rest of her cargo, so far as I have been able to examine it, appears in good order, and will be delivered, it is hoped, within her lay days. I have not the smallest doubt but that it will be well accepted.

Extract, to Doctor William Turner, of the United States Navy, at Tunis.

December 13th, 1801.

THE invalid state of my health compels me to take a short voyage at sea to try the efficacy of change of air and climate: and the George Washington, Capt. Shaw, offering me a passage to Leghorn, I have obtained the consent of this Bey that the affairs of the United States shall be conducted by you during my absence, and I have resolved to profit of this occasion to go thither: some instructions therefore to assist your agency seem not only proper but necessary; &c.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Dec. 13th, 1801.

ON the morning of the *3d Nov.* I received a message from Sidi Mahomet Bashaw, the exile from Tripoli, informing me that the usurper, his brother, had addressed the Dey of Algiers and begged his mediation to bring about a reconciliation with the American government; and expressed great solicitude to know, whether, in my opinion, the Americans would admit such an intervention? I did not hesitate to give it as my opinion, that my government, having been once deceived by that Dey, would now seek to establish their peace on a surer base. He then desired to be advised whether he might place any reliance on the operations of the Americans in his behalf. I recommended to him patience and silence; at the same time gave him leave to entertain the hope (may it not be illusive) that the next summer's operations would favor his views.

To Mr. Madison.

Leghorn, Feb. 22d, 1802.

INFORMATION from Tripoli up to *9th January,* states that no captures had been made The Bashaw is sending away his corsaires to different ports in the Morea for fear of assault from the Americans. Discontentment in his interior has arisen to insurrection. Famine distresses his capital: and he is destitute of resources. He has actually made overtures of reconciliation to his brother at Tunis. I shall defeat this project if I arrive at my post in season: shall depart hence in three days: have waited hitherto for a passage.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, March 18th, 1802.

ON arriving at Tunis I find Sidi Mahomet Bashaw yielding to his brother's instances, and on the point of departing for Derne, a province of Tripoli, the government of which is promised him; for which purpose he begged my passport. I not only refused it, but told him very candidly that if he departed we must consider him in the light of an enemy, and that, instead of my influence to assist his passage to the kingdom of Tripoli, I should give it to have him and his retinue carried prisoners of war to the United States; but if he would adhere to his former arrangements I did not doubt but that before the expiration of four months he might be offered to his people by an American squadron. I tell him the sole object of his brother is to cut his throat. He is sufficiently alarmed and too much distressed, this Bey having refused him any further supplies of provisions. He proposes going to Malta and waiting the issue there. I will only consent to his going to Leghorn or Sardinia. If he departs on other terms I shall send an armed ship after him, and, if possible, carry him and retinue to some Italian port.

To Mr. Cathcart.

Tunis, April 26th, 1802.

AT Bardo last Wednesday, mutually accusing each other of unaccommoding dispositions, the altercation grew so warm that the Bey ordered me to quit the court, and hold myself in readiness to embark in the first ship of war of my own country which should arrive in port. I turned short on my heels; came to my office; and forbade my secretary filling any more passports for Tunissian cruisers. This prohibition was immediately reported to the Bey; and had the effect aimed at. The same even-

ing his commercial agent come to my house and begged, in God's name, that I would countermand that order : said it was not the intention of the Bey to provoke a war by sending me away, but rather to obtain another Consul more capable of cherishing peace than myself. I replied, that I should not condescend to consider the Bey's objects nor views in offering an affront to my government in the person of their agent. He had taken his position : I had taken mine, which I should hold till he retracted his. Saturday morning I went to Bardo on the invitation of the Bey. The first motion was to resolve the past into oblivion ; of course an act of mutual amnesty was passed. We then discussed the relative advantages of peace and war. The result was, as concluded by this court, " That, though they could not pretend to the ability of fighting our ships of war, we could not do them any hurt : they would lay up their large cruisers, and send out their small ones to vex our commerce. And, said the Minister, *though a fly in a man's throat cannot kill him, it will make him vomit.* Yet they should always be willing to maintain the peace with the Americans on the same footing as the other *small Christian nations*, but they must have a Consul with less *fantasia*, and more friendly to the Barbary interests." I stated that I daily expected permission to return to my country, and to be succeeded by Mr. Cathcart, my colleague at Tripoli. The Bey expressed astonishment : asked if I recollected what he said last year to this proposition ; and repeated that *you* should never come into his country on any pretext whatever ; even if you were *a good man* it would be improper, after having made war with Tripoli.—But, embroglione, (troublesome, litigious, trifler) as he knew you to be, his desire of peace alone would exclude you from his court and kingdom.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, May 25th, 1802.

YESTERDAY I received a note from the Bey's Prime Minister, demanding an interview. I rendered myself at the palace, to encounter, as I supposed, new perplexities: but, on passing the usual ceremony with the Bey, I discovered on his countenance an unusual air of complaisance. He signified to me that, after uniting a little, I should be informed of the object of calling me to the palace. Accordingly, in about an hour after, I accompanied the Minister with the commercial Agent of the Regency into a private chamber; where, after a great deal of circumlocution, he came to the subject in view; which was nothing more nor less than a *proposition of peace on the part of the Bashaw of Tripoli, through the mediation and under the guarantee of the Bey of Tunis.* Here follows the substance of our conference.

"Have you done any thing" said the Minister, "on the subject of a peace with Tripoli?"

Nothing.

"You are carrying on a war, at so great a distance, at very great expense, without a prospect of gaining any thing."

That we are very sensible of.

"Would you be willing to negociate a peace with Tripoli?"

Are you authorized to propose this question?

"I am."

Well, then I tell you very frankly, we have no inducements whatever to *desire* a war with any nation on earth; much less with that which is now the subject of it. If Tripoli should make suitable retractions, she may think of peace. But, even then, we should think it hazardous to treat with the reigning Bashaw after having seen such flagrant violations of his faith.

"If the Bey of Tunis would act as mediator between the parties, and take upon himself the guarantee of the peace on the part of Tripoli, would it remove this difficulty?"

We have great reliance on the good faith, equity and magnanimity of his Excellency the Bey of Tunis; and should be very secure in his responsibility: but is it certain that this Bey would take upon himself the guarantee of a peace in behalf of Tripoli?

"Yes. But if you talk of retractions and indemnities, it would be idle to talk of peace. On the contrary, according to all custom, you must make the Bashaw a small *present*: though he would be willing to put up with something less than what he at first demanded."

We were not the first to violate the peace: we are not the first to demand it. If Tripoli be solicitous for it, she must abandon the idea of imposing conditions. She will most certainly never receive a caroube* in consideration of her friendship: we do not set any value upon it.

"Nay; but if you place no value on her friendship, the security of your commerce in this sea, and the saving of the expense of armaments, are objects of consideration, in which you consult your own interest."

We never supposed our commerce in this sea more secure than at present; notwithstanding the war with Tripoli; and as to the expense of armaments we accumulate nothing on that score from making the Mediterranean the manouvering ground of our seamen. We shall probably always have a squadron in this sea.

"But Tripoli is very poor: she cannot subsist without the generosity of her *friends*: give something then on the score of charity."

* 52 caroubes make a dollar.

Tripoli has forfeited her title of *friend*. Besides, there is a vast difference between the beggar who seizes my horse by the bit, and, with a pistol at my breast, demands my purse, and him who, with one hand pressed to his heart, and the other hanging with his hat, asks charity for the love of God. The former merits chastisement; the latter excites commiseration. I leave you to apply the figure.

"I feel it. But the Barbary Regencies never make peace without presents."

It is high time then that there should be a precedent.

"But you say you are disposed for peace."

Yes; but you are not to understand me that we either wish or will accept it on dishonorable terms.

"There can be nothing dishonorable in making a small voluntary present to Tripoli."

Drop this subject, if you please. Tripoli is not in a right position to receive expressions of our hospitality. Nor am I vested with powers to negociate. I can only express to you the general, but fixed sentiment of my government and country, *that we prefer peace to war, if we can have it on honorable terms*: and you are at liberty to express this sentiment to Tripoli. She may profit of it if she think proper. Otherwise, four or five years of warfare with that state will be but a pastime to our young warriors.

"I shall send off a courier," said the minister, "with the result of this interview."

At evening the commercial agent was at my house. Went over the same ground. Was sure that we should never have a peace without *paying something*: it would disgrace the Regency: but he seemed extremely solicitous to have permission to write something promising to Tripoli on the subject of a negociation. He said, what the Minister had asserted in the morning, that the only pretext the Bashaw of Tripoli had for breaking faith with the

United States was that the peace was not voluntary on his part; but forced on him by Algiers.

These overtures go to prove the embarrassed situation of our enemy; and promise, if suitable advantage is taken of it, a peace on our own terms. We hold the high grounds of him at all points. I am partial to my original plan of restoring the rightful Bashaw, though nothing was said on the subject at the palace to day. I think it highly probable that the reigning Bashaw has offered more *powerful arguments* to engage this Minister in his interest than either his brother had the means or myself the discretion of offering. Besides, the Bey of Tunis is ignorant of that project. It will be reasonable enough to inform him of it after having ensured its success. In the mean time let us amuse the usurper with his own propositions.

To Mr King.

Tunis, June 6th, 1802.

ON the 28th ult. arrived the United States frigate Constellation, Capt. Alexander Murray, last from Gibraltar. He delivered me the arms prepared in London for this Bey, which I have presented, saving the sword, and which were highly acceptable; but, in the uniform spirit of insolence which Christians tolerate in these Regencies, the Bey, through his Minister, after receiving these valuable articles, revived a former demand for a corvette or brig of war, such as we had given Algiers. I referred him to treaty stipulations; and thus silenced this claim, at least for the present: it will be revived the instant that we consent to pay Tripoli for a peace; which must be the result of that war unless more energy be thrown into our operations.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, June 8th, 1802.

MY measures with Mahamet Bashaw, the rightful sovereign of Tripoli, which I have had the honor to detail to government by different routs and various occasions, have undergone very severe criticism by Captains S. Barron and Bainbridge; by them reprobated in a stile of most illiberal censure; and under their influence rejected by Capt. Murray, in an air of authority and reprimand which I should not expect even from the highest departments of government.

I am aware that the expression found in my communication on the subject, *we are abandoned by our ships of war,* may have touched the feelings of gentlemen commanding them. I am not in fault for that. It is my duty, at least I consider it so, to report facts as they present themselves to me: no consideration will divert me from that duty.

The Philadelphia sailed from this port the 23d. September last for Tripoli; and returned the 2d. October following; she has not been seen here since: and one of her midshipmen, now acting in the Constellation, whose name I forget, affirms that she has but once since shewn herself before Tripoli; and then remained on the station only six hours. This is the only United States ship of war* which has appeared at all on this coast since October, until the arrival of the Boston, Capt. M'Niell, *who has kept his post.* The *extremity of the winter* compelled the commander of the Philadelphia to take house and lodgings at Saragosa, except thirty or forty days he has been on shore at Leghorn. The Essex has been stationed off Gibralter to watch the hull

* Except the George Washington in the tripple character of warrior, transport, and merchantman.

of a dismantled ship ; but that post she has left occasionally, ten, twelve, or fifteen days at different periods : she may have had special calls at Malaga and Cadiz. This is a singularly economical mode of carrying on the war ; and it is not extraordinary if gentlemen *feelingly* attached to it should take offence at a vigilance which should go to put an end to it.

There may be another source of grievance between one of those gentlemen and myself, which takes its rise at Algiers. I have exercised the liberty, in terms as pointed as every citizen of the United States should feel the abasement, to express my concern that a *United States ship of war* should have been exposed to the ridicule of nations, navigating the sea under *Algerine colors !* And, though I never aimed to reflect any censure on the commander, who acted under, perhaps, inevitable compulsion, it is nevertheless possible, nay probable, that the turn Mr. O'Brien may have given to my expressions should have wounded his sensibility ; for whoever is acquainted with the emotions of the human heart will be at no loss to imagine what kind of sensations my disapprobation of that disgraceful concession would excite in the temper of individuals who really are, or who seem to think themselves implicated : it is very certain that Capt. Murray has been influenced by Captains S. Barron and Bainbridge. When I had the pleasure to wait on those gentlemen in this port, last summer, they expressed their entire concurrence in all my measures ; and seemed, with me, fully persuaded that the most energetic operations would alone stamp the impression on these powers which our nation are desirous to impress of our strength and abilities. Why they should so suddenly depart from that sentiment ; or why Capt. Murray should arrogate to himself the discretion to put so prompt, so rigorous a check to measures tending to that effect, I cannot well comprehend : it is a strange notion of economy which should induce him

to reject a project which promises a saving to the United States hundreds of thousands, under a pretext of curtailing an expence of 10 or 20 thousand dollars. If he acted from want of confidence in the success of the project, he was moved by a *zeal without knowledge.* Information he may have received from Captains S. Barron and Bainbridge must have been presumptive; for those commanders, not having been for the eight months last past in this quarter, can be but very imperfectly informed of the whole facts and entire object which those arrangements embrace. They can, in fact, have no information on the subject, except by mere intimation, other than what they derive from my dispatches, above alluded to, passed open through their hands; to which, however, it is manifest, they paid no respect; except such parts of them as may have been construed to have reference to individual delinquency. But to whom are gentlemen, intrusted with, and fresh in, command here, to look for information? To the local and proper Agents of the government stationed here to watch for the interests of the United States; or to the theatres of Saragosa, Leghorn and Malaga? * * * * * * *

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Aug. 5th, 1802.

ON the 23d ult. I fell in with a Tripoline merchant at the Swedish house, who informed me that the circumstance of Mahamet Bashaw being at Malta, had excited great emotion at Tripoli; that the reigning Bashaw was much alarmed; and that to prevent an insurrection in the interior in favor of the brother, the Bashaw had seized and confined several chiefs of principal villages. On the contrary, that his subjects build on this circumstance a hope of returning peace and a milder administration. That a spirit of universal discontentment and revolt pervade all classes of the subjects, except a few

personally attached to the reigning Bashaw: and that they generally think it the interposition of heaven that their rightful sovereign is to be restored to them and their oppressor punished. I do not vouch for the truth of these facts; though they correspond with every thing which has come to my knowledge on the subject.

To his Excellency Mahamet Caramelli, Bashaw of Tripoli.

Tunis, Aug. 6th, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of 16th ult. and I improve this first opportunity to request Mr. Pulis to furnish you with two thousand hard dollars on the credit of the United States, which, I hope will be a relief to your situation until the arrival of our Commodore, who is hourly expected here. He arrived at Gibraltar early in June; but has been detained in that quarter for the arrangement of public affairs with the Emperor of Morocco. I hope your Excellency's patience will not be exhausted. Remember that your brother thirsts for your blood. I have learned from a certain source that his project of getting you to Derne was to murder you. He is now more determined than ever; because he has intercepted some of your letters to your friends in Tripoli. You cannot be safe therefore, in any part of your Regency, unless you enter it in your true character of sovereign. I believe in God, the mighty and the just, that this event is not far distant. In the mean time, permit me to recommend to your Excellency to keep up a correspondence with those of your party in Tripoli, and with your subjects of the country. Let them be persuaded that your friends will not abandon you until, by the help of God, they shall see you restored to your faithful people. Give them assurances to

redress their grievances and to treat them like a mild and just prince. And do every thing to detach them from the interest of the usurper.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, with the most profound respect,
your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Aug. 9th, 1802.

WHATEVER may be Capt. Murray's opinion of my measures, he ought not to sacrifice the interests of service to individual resentments. Government may as well send out *quaker meeting-houses* to float about this sea as frigates with Murrays in command : the friendly salutes he may receive and return at Gibraltar produce nothing at Tripoli. Have we but one *Truxton* and one *Sterret* in the United States ?

The Arab camp, called to the defence of Tripoli, has undoubtedly been collected to defeat the project of Mahamet Bashaw, the exiled brother. What other internal enemy can the usurper fear ? If so, this amounts to unquestionable evidence of the influence that measure might have had in the war with Tripoli if pushed to effect. But, perhaps, the project is not lost. Let the reigning Bashaw exhaust his resources in useless defensive preparations, and fatigue his subjects with fruitless campaigning ; while the project in view, on the part of his enemy, is maturing for operation. I have communicated nothing of this project to Mr. Nissen, he not having a cypher corresponding with mine, and it being dangerous to commit it to an intelligible character : he appears totally uninformed of it.

This Regency is creating new demands on us. I shall detail them seasonably, if necessary. Among them the original demand for a vessel of war.

EXTRACT: TO GEN. S. SMITH, *Baltimore*, MEMBER of CONGRESS.

Tunis, Aug. 19th, 1802.

ABOUT the time the Bashaw of Tripoli had fixed his resolution to declare war against the United States, Mr. Cathcart, our Consul near that Regency, suggested to me, that Mahamet Bashaw, brother of the reigning Bashaw, to whom the subjects of that Regency were very much attached, being the rightful sovereign and then in Tunis, having been treacherously driven from the throne some years ago, might be used as an instrument in the hands of the United States, to chastise the temerity of the usurper, reestablish himself, and effect a cheap, honorable, and permanent peace to our country. I immediately entered into a concertation with the exiled Bashaw to this effect: and he gave me such assurances of the feasibility of the measure, together with such collateral information collected from other quarters, as left scarcely a doubt of its success, if managed with suitable address. Mr. Cathcart suggested the same project to government, and I reported to the proper department the steps I had taken in the measure. Last winter, being in an infirm state of health from the convalescence of a fever which had reduced me very low during the summer, I was advised by physicians to take a voyage at sea. Accordingly I embarked in the United States transport, the George Washington, on the 13th December, for Leghorn. Late in February, information came to me that Mahamet Bashaw was about to return to Tripoli, on overtures made to him by the reigning Bashaw; who, it seems, had become jealous of him in his actual situation. I immediately embarked for Tunis, in a Danish built ship of mine, called the Gloria, armed with fourteen twelve and six pounders; navigated by thirty seven men, chiefly Americans; and commanded by Capt Jo-

seph Bounds of Baltimore ; where, on my arrival, I found the Bashaw on the point of departure, under the escort of about forty Tripoline soldiers, for the province of Derne in the Regency of Tripoli, the government of which the usurper had promised him as an indemnity for the loss of his throne. My return to Tunis and arguments which I used, determined the Bashaw to change his resolution, and seek some secure asylum until the arrival of the American squadron. But the Bey of Tunis, whether suspicious of what was on foot, or from what other motives I know not, had refused him further supplies in his Regency. His departure therefore, had become a matter of necessity. I wished him to go to Leghorn and put himself into the hands of Mr. Cathcart : but, surrounded with Turkish subjects of his brother, as he was, left it not optional with him : and, though apprehensive of treachery on the part of his brother, he seemed to have no alternative but to submit to his destiny. Yet he expressed a desire by some means to be thrown into the hands of the Americans. Here being none of our ships of war in the vicinity, I dispatched Capt. Bounds to the Boston frigate, Capt. M'Niell, being the only commander on the coast, with a statement of facts ; who embraced the project and sent Capt. Bounds back to me with instructions to hold the Gloria in service, at my disposition, until the arrival of the Commodore. In the mean time, before the Bashaw sailed, I obtained secret intelligence from this Bey's Prime Minister that the object of the usurper was to get possession of his brother in order to destroy him. I immediately communicated this intelligence to the Bashaw, who had now already embarked for his passage, and brought him to a resolution to go to Malta, and there wait the arrival of our Commodore, with whom he might proceed before Tripoli and demand the restitution of his Regency ; as he had assurances that, in such case, the subjects in general, who are much dissatisfied with the war, would revolt

in his favor and deliver the usurper into his hands. Accordingly, under a pretext of evading the Swede and American frigates, he prevailed on his attendants to touch at Malta. This plan being arranged, I ordered Capt. Bounds to Gibraltar, with dispatches to the government and Commodore, stating this position of affairs. He there fell in with the Constellation, Capt. Murray; who, after having previously read my communications, and consulted with Captains S. Barron and Bainbridge, discarded the project, and dismissed my ship with marks of pointed disapprobation. Mahamet Bashaw, faithful to his engagements, discharged his ship at Malta, under the same pretext which took him to that port; and has remained there ever since. But, though he has had an interview with Capt. M'Niell who counselled him to persevere in the project, he has received no succour, nor even countenance from the gentleman now in command (Capt. Murray.) The circumstance of his secure position, however, has excited such alarm in the apprehensions of the reigning Bashaw, that he has actually called to the defence of his city such of the Arabs of his kingdom as are attached to his interest, and, to insure their fidelity, confined their chiefs within his walls. This fact, together with the solicitude of the usurper to get possession of his brother's person, go to demonstrate the correctness of our calculations on this project, if suitable advantage had been taken of the position it offered. I hope the occasion is not lost.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, August 23d, 1802.

OUR operations of the last and present year produce nothing in effect but additional enemies and national contempt. If the same system of operations continue, so will the same consequences. The obstinate posture and affected indifference to menace, which have hitherto been my talismen in

lieu of *solid argument* here, no longer avail. The Minister puffs a whistle in my face, and says; "We find it is all a puff! We see how you carry on the war with Tripoli!"

I have never ceased to give the alarm in due season: to suggest such measures as seemed to me indispensible to parry serious mischief; and to point out what I believed would be the consequence of neglecting that advice. I have now the melancholy reflection that my apprehensions have been but too well founded, and my predictions but too accurate.

My exile is become insupportable here. Abandoned by my countrymen in command; no advice from government to regulate my conduct; and my own exertions failing of effect; I am left subject, though not yet submissive, to the most intolerable abuse and personal vexation. Anxiety, perplexity and a climate unfavorable to my constitution, waste my health. The position I have taken and held with this Bey in regard to passports for his merchantmen for Tripoli, has excited a temper and disposition in this court to distress me in my personal concerns. I have frequently stated that my salary is an inadequate support. The check which Capt. Murray thought proper to put on my public measures has not less affected my public character. Thus situated, I am consuming life, property, and, perhaps, public reputation here, without the conseling prospect of having the merit of being useful to my country. Why should I remain at a post which is no longer tenable? Again, I repeat, my individual resources are insufficient barriers against the avarice of this Regency. From the first moment of my agency here it was apparent to me that submission to the demands of this Bey would only sharpen avidity. I stated this apprehension in my communications to government: it was thought *too lively!* My measures to chastise a perfidious enemy are now branded, by commanders, as *speculative;* the *effusions of a disordered fancy!* Is it not enough that I have sacri-

ficed almost four years to the service of my country in a state of painful sequestration from all rational enjoyment? Will any body alledge that I have not discharged my duty with an upright zeal? And are such the rewards of my services? To be branded unheard in my own defence, and by a solitary Capt. of a frigate, with *speculation*, and *insanity!* This is too much! I have the native rights, and I trust the feelings of an American citizen. Let Murray leave to me my liberty and my honor: he may filch from me all the other appendages of life which can be useful to him. But blasted as is my honor here by the weight of his authority and the breath of his scandal, my very existence is insupportable. It were impossible to keep these things concealed here, even if they had been transacted with less publicity. The Bey says; "I always told the American Consul he was a mad man," (because I have not been his obsequious slave, as are half the Consuls near him,) "and it appears the commanders of his nation are of the same opinion!" Gentle commanders! Ye have hitherto exhibited no symptoms of *madness* to these Regencies! They are perfectly satisfied with your moderation! Equally so with the blast, in cool blood, you have stamped on the character of a fellow citizen and a fellow servant of your country.

I am constrained therefore, not less by a regard to the interest and honor of my country than to my own individual interest and honor, to request the President will permit me to resign the trust I have the honor to hold under the government of the United States; unless more active operations shall be resolved on against the enemy; in which case it would gratify me to remain on this coast till the issue be determined.

P. S. *Aug.* 28.

Yesterday I was called to the palace. The Minister formally demanded of me a frigate of 36 guns. It need not be thought strange to see me in America this winter. I can neither yield to nor get rid of the demand.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Sept. 12th, 1802.

IN former communications I have had the honor to suggest to the department of state, that when these Regencies prevail on a tributary national Agent to state a demand to his government, they raise an assumpsit on this compliance. I have consequently been uniform in refusing to state their demands. Steady to this resolution, I now refuse to write for a thirtysix gun frigate. The Bey has therefore *condescended* to write himself; but he conceived a project, entirely original, to finesse me into his views: which was, that I should *make a form* of the letter, which he would send the President, under his signature. It would thus become my act; and of course, on their mode of reasoning, a promise. This I refused.

At the palace on the 29th ult. argument was drawn from treaty compact, and our late delivery of regalia, to discourage this demand. I asked the Minister, if he was not ashamed to make the demand after having received such valuable presents from the United States, and so lately? He answered in substance. "The presents already received were mere *peace stipulation*, which ought to have been delivered years ago. We have forborne with you on account of assurance of the Agents of your government that they were always on the way. It is six years since your peace negociation was begun. We expected full payment in a year. *You* came out with nothing. More than three years have elapsed since *you* finished the negociation. We allowed you six months to bring forward the regalia. We have waited more than *thirty six*. After so long delay we have received payment for your *peace*. But you have made us no consideration for this forbearance: nor have we hitherto received any evidence of the *veritable friendship* of the Prince of America; not-

withstanding the repeated amicable intimations we have given him that such an expression of his sincerity would be agreeable to us. We shall expect a different answer to this request. His Excellency, my master, is a man of great forbearance ; but he knows what steps to take with the nations who exhaust his patience with illusive expressions of friendship ; as you have learnt from the Danes, Spaniards and others. Do not you see the Spanish king has changed his Consul at the demand of my master? You may experience the same disgrace. We shall expect therefore, that you will give us your influence to obtain us a frigate ; though we have much reason to believe you rather discourage your Prince from listening to our solicitations. And, should a rupture happen, and he be made acquainted with your neglect of duty, he must impute the cause to you alone."

To which I answered. Let the Bey write the President. He can undoubtedly state his pretensions with more perspicuity than I can. I shall take care to give his letter conveyance.

On the 2d instant, my drogoman was at the palace. The demand that I should form the project of a letter was reiterated. I had directed him, in case this subject should be revived, to tell the Bey decidedly, I would not write, neither directly nor indirectly. He did so. The Minister said : " It is what all the tributary Consuls do. And the American is in an error if he thinks to break over established customs !" He directed the drogoman to tell me the Bey would see me at the palace on the 4th. Accordingly on the fourth I rendered myself there. The Bey referred me to the Minister. I waited on him in his private chamber. After some interlocution, he demanded, in an imperious tone, a form of a letter to the President. I asked again, on what pretext he founded his claim for a frigate ; and why he so strenuously insisted on my forming the letter ? " I have already explained the grounds of our claim," said he. " We must have this expression of *friend*-

ship, as you have given the Dey of Algiers. My master is afflicted that your Prince does not show him as much friendship as he does the Dey. And he will have you write, because it is customary, (usanza.) Besides, he does not know what stile would be agreeable to your master. You therefore must form the letter in a stile to please him and to ensure our object."

I said I thought the idea somewhat singular that the Bey of Tunis, who corresponded with all the Princes of Europe, should find any difficulty in framing a letter to the President of the United States! Besides, this would not be the first time he had written him.—"To no purpose," interrupted the Minister; "and we will now try the efficacy of your composition." Not on this occasion, said I: if the Bey writes I shall send the letter; if not, it will spare me the trouble. "He will write," said the Minister, irritated, "and in the English language, that we may be understood. We fancy you do not understand our letters in a foreign language!" He ordered the drogoman to come on the 7th, and receive the letter, "which," said he to me, "you will send off by your ship express!"

On the 7th, the drogoman was at the palace: the letter was written: but, being read to the Bey, did not please him. The drogoman was ordered to call on the 9th: called on the 9th, ordered to call the 10th: called the 10th, and at half past eleven, A. M. returned with the Bey's letter, (inclosure D.) There can be little doubt that this demand of the Bey has for its object a pretext of rupture, in case circumstances should encourage his hope of plunder or of greater concessions. He certainly cannot be stupid enough to suppose it will be yielded him. He is penetrating and subtle as he is avaricious; and has generally the address to cover his designs till the moment of aiming his blow: witness the surprize of the Danes in 1800.

He certainly starved Mahamet Bashaw out of his kingdom to force him into the hands of his brother. I once thought him partial to the exile; and still believe him personally so; but state policy has outweighed individual attachment.

TRANSLATION.

THE BASHAW, BEY of TUNIS, to the PRESIDENT of the REPUBLIC of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

SIR, PRESIDENT.

Tunis, Sept. 8th, 1802.

WITH equal pleasure and satisfaction I have seen arrive, and have received successively, all the military and naval stores, as well as the superb jewels, which your government has sent forward for my Regency and myself, in execution of our conditions for the confirming and consolidating of the good harmony and alliance which, thank God, have been established, and actually subsist between us.

While I am happy to give you this assurance, indeed sincere, of my full contentment, I ought not to dissemble, that I do not, at the same time, see myself treated with the same distinction and the same regard that you have had for your other friends, and, since I am equally one, I avow to you, with frankness, as I have already declared to Mr. EATON, your Consul, that it would have been infinitely agreeable to me, if you had also made me a present of a vessel of war.

Mr. EATON not finding it convenient to charge himself with the communication of this demand to you, on my part, I am determined to testify to you directly, by the present, that it would be very agreeable to me that you should send me a good frigate of thirty six guns, which would add to the high esteem I have for your nation, and would more and more cement the ties of our friendship, which, on my part I shall maintain firm and inviolable.

Convinced as I am before hand, Sir President, that this demand, taken into consideration, will obtain the full effect which I expect from it, I renew to you the assurance of my most distinguished esteem, and I pray Almighty God to have you in his holy keeping.

HAMOUDA BASHAW, *Bey,*
Prince of the princes of Tunis, the city well guarded, the abode of happiness.

(Bey's Seal.)

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Oct. 22d, 1802.

THE indignities I have suffered at this court latterly, are insupportable. On the first appearance of our squadron, this Bey behaved respectfully: he has grown insolent in proportion to the moderation of their movements and the success of the enemy. I have in no instance yielded to his exactions. But, again permit me to repeat, without more energetic support, I cannot maintain the position I have taken here: a position which has hitherto received the approbation of every distinguished officer of the general government with whom I have had the honor to correspond. And, suffer me to add, if further concessions are to be made here, I desire *I may not be the medium through whom they shall be presented.* The rich regalia I have already given this Bey, in the name of the chief magistrate of the United States, serve only to show him our wealth and our weakness, and to prompt his avarice to new demands: Three years ago, I apprehended this consequence of our yielding expressions of amity. The same effect will result from the same cause, so long as the latter exist. * * * * *

I am indeed weary of this state of exile and fruitless exertion: I do not, however, permit myself to consider any privation of personal enjoyment, (though on my part it is total,) as a sacrifice, if it may go to promote the honor and aid the interest of

my beloved country. But, let me be *supported* or *replaced*. It is a proposition equally reasonable as desirable.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Nov. 9th, 1802.

IT was enjoined on me to forward my account by the return of the squadron : but it must be long since known to government that no ship of that squadron showed itself here for seven or eight months previously to leaving this sea. My reasons for not forwarding it by the Washington, were stated in the letter of 13th December last. It would have been desirable to have obtained permission to present my account in person. There are items to which I have no regular vouchers, and others whose vouchers require explanation. These people never give receipts for presents. I could not prevail on the Bey, nor his Minister, to receipt the articles delivered him as the conditions of peace ; and I should forever have remained destitute of such a voucher, if he had not committed himself in his letter to the President, of September 8th. I shall forward the account by the first direct conveyance. In the mean time it is incumbent on me to advise government that the incidents of my measures with Mahamet Bashaw, have involved an expense of about twenty three thousand dollars, for the defraying of which I have obtained cash on credit here ; and for the reimbursement of which, immediate provisions must be made. I lament having been the principal agent in measures which have incurred this useless expense to my country : useless it would *not have been*, if those measures had received *timely support*. The failure of the project will not be followed by any other inconveniences to our affairs here ; though, I confess, I had apprehensions of more serious consequences from it. Chagrin would forbid me ever presenting this statement, if I were in cash to reim-

burse the sum ; but I have suffered every species of personal vexation the season past which barbarity could inflict, to compel me into the views of this Regency : every thing which took the appearance of a promise has been exacted of, and extorted from me. I have been literally robbed ; and am consequently destitute of resources here. If this expense should not be admitted in account on final settlement, my property in America must go to indemnify the United States, so far as it will extend to that object. I have the satisfaction to reflect that I have yielded no national points here ; on the contrary, though it threatened and may perhaps eventually effect my personal ruin, have steadfastly resisted the Bey's instances and exactions : but, though he menaced me in all shapes to compel concessions, I find this obstinacy (as he is pleased to term it) will produce no public mischief here.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, Dec. 20th, 1802.

MY means and my resources of resistance are totally exhausted at this place. The operations of our squadron this season have done less than the last to aid my efforts. Only one frigate of this squadron has been hitherto seen on the enemy's coast. I can no longer talk of resistance and coercion without exciting a grimace of contempt and ridicule. I am neither permitted nor inclined to talk of concessions. And, of course, my personal services can no longer be useful here under actual circumstances. Any body whose fidelity may be depended on, and who is capable of writing an intelligible letter, may be of equal service and less exposed. This Regency view me with a jealous and suspicious eye. They say, " the American Consul is an enemy to the Barbary interests." (God forbid that he should be a friend to them.) And, in case of a rupture, I have not the least reason to suppose

the Bey would consent to my departure. When the commodore and Mr. Cathcart arrive I shall consult with them, and if they concur in the measure, shall endeavor by stratagem to get out of this country and repair to the seat of government of the United States. * * * * * * *

Notes from the Journal.

PICKPOCKETS.

Tunis, Dec. 27th, 1802.

THE superintendent of the Sapitapa's public buildings sent to demand a winter's provisions of sugar and coffee.

I sent the messenger away with this answer.

"Tell Sidi Hagi Sala Bougdier, that I have no sugar; and, if he wants coffee, to treat with my broker."

I am weary and exhausted by this kind of beggary. The Bey, the Sapitapa, both their physicians, their chamberlains, the Caii of Porto Farina, the Schaik Medina, (mayor of the city) and Aga, (Commandant or Colonel) of the Goulette, have been supplied with sugar, coffee, tea, pepper, spices, and indeed, clothing, from the American house, more than three years: and in a manner which excludes the possibility, in most instances, of my making it a public charge. Even the Bey's commercial agent refuses payment for coffee and loaf sugar; (he is above using brown;) which he, at different times, has received on credit, to the amount of 900 piasters. Whatever these pickpockets fix their eyes upon in my house is *good prize*. They will not be refused! Let me get away from this den of thieves! The salary of the President of the United States would hardly be adequate to the support of this house, on the present *moderate* system of our *economy*, with these Regencies.

To Mr. Madison.

Tunis, March 5th, 1803.

YESTERDAY morning, about nine o-clock, Commodore Morris left the American house to go on board. Some altercations between him and the Bey's commercial agent, who had three times come to, and as often fallen from, an agreement relative to the reclamations for the prize in question with this Regency,* had determined him to depart without making a visit of congee to the Bey. He was met at the marine by the commercial agent, and detained for the payment of a balance of a loan, amounting to twenty two thousand dollars, which I had obtained of said agent, as reported in my letter to the department of state of 9th November last. This act of violence was warmly remonstrated against. It was insisted that the loan was a transaction of my own, for which I was solely responsible in my representative character. I repeated to the agent what I had before informed him, that I had nearly four months since communicated this affair to my government, and should probably soon receive some assistance ; that at all events the debt was secure, and, in order to obtain his forbearance, I offered to make him any reasonable compensation for the delay. He rejected the proposal : asserted that I had promised payment on the arrival of the Commodore ; and insisted on being paid. I denied ever having given him any assurance of payment on the arrival of the Commodore ; but confessed, what was true, that I had said to him, I hoped to have the means of payment on the arrival of a frigate from America. And I repeated to him that I would make him any reasonable sacrifice by way of compensa-

* Mr. Eaton had declared Tripoli in a state of blockade. The American squadron had taken a Tunissian vessel bound to Tripoli. The Bey of Tunis claimed restitution, declaring the blockade illegal.

tion, if he would consent to suspend the settlement till such an arrival. All was in vain.—Shylock must have his pound of flesh. The Commodore returned to the American house; and at his request I presented myself before the Bey and demanded if this detention were by his order. He did not give me a direct answer; but signified that it was understandingly done. There was no alternative but for the Commodore to satisfy this demand before he could obtain permission to embark. He therefore addressed himself to the French commissary general, who engaged to advance the money on his bills on Leghorn: but in order to indemnify the Commodore I propose to put into his hands in favor of the United States an assignment of all my property of every nature, whether real, personal or mixed, to be applied to the reimbursement of this sum in case my contingent charges, which occasioned this loan, should not be admitted on final settlement; account of which accompanies this statement.

It were desirable that I might render myself at the seat of government with my vouchers, in order to make such explanations as the nature of the subject may require: but the Commodore thinks it would be too injurious to the interests of the United States here at this crisis. It is hoped however, this indulgence may be granted as soon as the situation of affairs will render it admissible. I am now totally destitute of funds and credit here; and do not know where to obtain the means of daily subsistence.

The Commodore and other gentlemen of rank in the squadron have expressed to me their entire approbation of my public agency and general measures at this Regency: but the events of yesterday seem to have excited some unpleasant sensations. I could have no apprehension of such an event. It was impossible to apprehend that the respect attached to the person of the Commodore would be violated. It is unprecedented, even in the history of Barbary outrage.

P. S. *March* 6.

This morning the Commodore, accompanied by Mr. Cathcart, Capt. Rogers and myself, waited on the Bey at the palace. After having come to a final arrangement in the affair of the prize, by the Commodore's engagement to cause all Tunissian property to be restituted, the subject of the loan before mentioned was brought forward. The question was asked the Bey whether the Commodore was arrested by his order? He answered evasively; by saying *it was not customary for a Commodore ever to depart without making him a visit of congee; and that he had been informed carriages were ready for the purpose the morning of the fourth.*

It is true that, the evening of the 3d, the Commodore had concluded to see and take leave of the Bey; and that the morning following, carriages were prepared for the purpose. The commercial agent had said to him, he thought the affair of the prize might be arranged without difficulty at the palace; and that delay might be obtained for the payment of this balance by engaging the good offices of the Minister. But the equivocal and suspicious behavior of the government relative to the prize reclamations, as stated in my report of yesterday, had determined the Commodore to go on board; to make his further communications with the palace through the medium of the consulate; and to leave to me the adjustment of this balance. His detention was the consequence.

I could not forbear remonstrating in pointed and animated terms with the Bey against this national indignity and breach of hospitality. I stated to him the means I possessed to meet this debt. That I had already informed my government of the circumstances of the case; and that answers could not now be long in arriving. That I had reason to suppose the confidence always manifested on his part towards me, and the integrity of my conduct towards him, would have shielded me against this wound to my feelings and reputation. That this loan, as he well

knew, had originated in measures altogether compulsory; that I had given a premium of two thousand dollars to obtain it; and that I had been impeded from a more seasonable payment by reason of the iniquity I had experienced at his court; especially the absolute frauds of his Minister, who had literally robbed me. The Sapitapa, affecting to be affronted at this charge, as usual in all cases when resisted or reproached, accused me of being mad. And the Bey, taking an interest in his cause, ordered me immediately to quit his court. I answered—*It is well! I am not dissatisfied to quit a court where I have experienced little else than violence and indignity.* But demanded of him to state his objections to my agency; and, if he had found me unjust, to declare it. Addressing himself to the Commodore, he answered.—"The Consul is a man of a good heart, but a wrong head. He is too obstinate and too violent for me. I must have a Consul with a disposition more congenial to *Barbary interests!*" When asked in what I had offended? He said, I had violated the laws of his country by bastinading his subjects: and named Famin, another Christian and a Jew. I acknowledged that I had, three years ago, chastised Famin. But I denied that he was his *subject;* though I knew him his *voluntary slave!* His conduct towards me had merited chastisement: it had been treacherous, dishonest and base. Finding no other means of justice I had used the discipline which I would again use in similar circumstances. As to the Jew, I was not in the habit of patiently taking an insult in my own house from any man; much less from an Algerine Jew. The other affair had been misstated to him. As it respected my public agency I was conscious of not having been wanting in point of duty nor in my respect to himself as a prince. The Bey acknowledged it. I reiterated to him that I had suffered every species of injury, outrage and indignity in his Regency; and I thanked him unfeignedly for ordering me out of it.

I should at least leave behind me the impression that I was not his slave, and that it was not in the nature of things to reduce me to that situation. I gave him my hand and wished him well. He reciprocated the wish. I shall embark in the squadron. Doctor George Davis, of New York, will remain charged.

March 9th. The Commodore embarked the seventh and sent the balance of my obligation from on board. I shall quit this sink of treachery tomorrow, and repair immediately to the seat of the Government of the United States, where I hope to render a satisfactory account of my four years agency here.

I think it worthy remark, that yesterday the chivalier de Barthes said to me in presence of Capt. Rodgers, he had discovered that the Bey had meditated other exactions, which he intended forcing on the Commodore, but that he had desisted from his projects by reason of being informed that the French commissary general had interested himself in the affairs of the Americans. That, confounded at this information, he had thought it prudent to change his views.

On the 10th of March, Mr. Eaton left Tunis; and on the 20th, arrived at Algiers. The next day the squadron sailed for Gibralter, where it arrived on the 23d. On the 30th of the same month, Mr. Eaton embarked on board a merchantman, the ship Perseverance, bound to Boston, where he arrived May 5th; and in a few days was restored to the bosom of a family from which he had been absent four years and a half.

In June he went to the seat of government in order to adjust his accounts and urge the administration to the adoption of more vigorous measures against Tripoli, as well as to induce them to sanction and assist the plan of employing Hamet Bashaw in opposing the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli. A part of his accounts were of such a nature as to demand the interference of Congress; a settlement was there-

fore postponed till the ensuing session. Most of the summer and autumn were spent in the management and improvement of his farm in Brimfield.

In January 1804, MR. EATON repaired to Washington to adjust his accounts under the sanction of Congress, the Department of State refusing to allow the $ 22,000 expended in endeavoring to obtain the cooperation of the Ex-Bashaw, as well as some minor claims.

The following extracts of his letter to the Speaker of the House of Representives merit perusal.

HAVING gone through this statement of events which produced the items of my claim now before this honorable house; and brought into view the most considerable transactions of my agency; both as they relate to my exertions to keep the peace at Tunis and to assist the operations of the war against Tripoli; I beg it may be considered; that, so far as respects the latter, I have been but the chief acting agent of a measure which was recommended and urged by not only Mr. Cathcart, an agent of the government, best acquainted with the probabilities of its success, but by every other agent and citizen of the United States with whom I could consult, and who were entitled to my confidence. A measure ultimately adopted by every commanding officer who has appeared on that station since it took shape; and approved by the Executive. That I have taken no steps in the measure but what resulted from the position on which I was placed and the nature of my duty; and but what met the concurrence of Mr. Cathcart and such other officers of the government as were on the ground. That, so far as my agency had any influence on the measure, it succeeded: and that, if we have not experienced all the benefits calculated to result from its full effect, it ought to be attributed to the *inertia* of a commander or commanders over whose conduct I had no control. That it was not apprehended any expenses to the United

States would accrue from the measure. But, on the contrary, that such expenses as should be incident to its prosecution would be defrayed out of its success; and that it would be a public saving both of life and property: as would eventually have been the case if it had been prosecuted with suitable energy.

It may not be improper to recite, that my ship Gloria was to be employed *on this emergency* only till *the arrival of a Commodore on the coast.* But it was impossible to imagine his arrival would be delayed eleven months after the plan was mature for execution, or that, on his arrival and finding it in that stage, he should make no effort to give it effect. He was entreated to send only one of his ships, with the agents to the friendly Bashaw in order to encourage his perseverance until he could bring the whole squadron to cooperate with him. This he refused on a pretext that the ships were on short rations, and must all accompany him to Gibraltar to provision.

This may have been the case; but, it is nevertheless true, that the whole squadron lay nine days after arriving at that port without taking in even a biscuit or a bucket of water: the Commodore was occupied with *his Royal Highness,* the duke of Kent, soliciting a court of admiralty to adjudicate upon David Valenzin, the Jew, whom he picked out of an imperial vessel, near Malta. It is true that the first appearance of this Commodore before Tripoli was not till the 22d May, 1803. It is true that during this term of a year, from his first arrival on the station, he never burnt an ounce of powder; except at a royal salute fired at Gibraltar in celebration of the birth day of *his Britanic Majesty;* or on similar occasions. And it is equally true, that, during the period of seventeen months he commanded the whole force of the United States in the Mediterranean, he was only nineteen days before the enemy's port!

I certainly feel no inclination to act the informer; nor would I state these facts were it not that those

delinquencies have most deeply affected me ; rifled me of my honor ; and, for ought I know, reduced me to extreme poverty. Whereas, had I been supported with that energy, nay, with that integrity, which was due to the confidence of the government in the commander in chief of the expedition, I should have saved both my honor and my property. I should at least have saved myself the mortification of this appeal to the equity and sensibility of the national legislature. And, it is confidently believed, my country would have experienced lasting benefits from my exertions.

It is presumed the project with Hamet Bashaw is still feasible. The very circumstance of his *existence* is evidence of his holding a position formidable to the enemy ; for, it is well known, a Turkish despot never lets a rival exist whom he can destroy. And, I must be permitted still to adhere to the opinion, which has actuated my conduct in this affair, that it is the most eligible way of securing a permanent peace with that Regency ; for there is *no faith in treaties with the ruling Bashaw !*

Besides the impression to be made on the world, by this species of chastisement, it would have a beneficial influence on the other Barbary Regencies. To them, the precedent would be dreadful ; for it would be no very difficult matter in case of war to start a rival in either of those Regencies ; the government of Algiers being military elective ; and the Beylique of Tunis, though hereditary, now held by usurpation. This may account perhaps, for the Sapitapa having, after deliberation, seceded from his engagements with me in favor of reestablishing the legitimate Bashaw of Tripoli.

But, whether the project be yet practicable or not, it is believed, sufficient evidence has been produced to convince the understanding of every one, who is willing to be convinced, that the object which that enterprize aimed to secure was worth an experiment. With the discretionary instructions I held, I

should have thought myself chargeable with a criminal omission had I not used every effort to secure it: for if a prominent occasion offers which might place the life and dominion of the enemy into our hands, would it not have been treacherous to have neglected it?

It may be asserted without vanity or exageration, that my arrangements with the rival Bashaw did more to harrass the enemy in 1802 than the entire operations of our squadron. Yet the force sent into the Mediterranean that season was adequate to all the purposes of the war; and, with the favorable positions which had been secured, might have put an end to it in sixty days after arriving at the post, had the arrival been seasonable. This is not my solitary opinion. The Bey of Tunis himself, when hearing of the plan concerted between the Americans and the rival Bashaw, exclaimed "Said Joseph is ruined!" Meaning the ruling Bashaw of Tripoli. But it is now pretended the enterprise was abandoned on the score of *economy!* Oliver Cromwel *searched the Lord*, whenever he had occasion to veil his sinister views from *men! Economy* seems to be the mask of the day with us to disguise the most palpable and inexcusable neglects of duty; for it is hackneyed by every hypocrite whose baseness wants a shield for delinquency; or whose jealousy seeks to blast the merit of that vigilance and energy which cannot but upbraid his remissness. Hence the very commander, who recoils at the prodigality of seeing a single ship employed in the prosecution of a measure which might have decided the fate of the enemy; and at a moment when no alternative existed, seems wholly unconcerned at having employed the whole operative naval force of the United States an entire year, in the Mediterranean, attending the—*travels of a woman!*

Let it not be inferred from these strictures that your petitioner is an infidel to the doctrine of economy! On the contrary, *he believes*, but not in a mis-

application of the term nor a perversion of the principle. Without the arrogance of believing himself capable of advising, may he not be permitted to ask? If this kind of concern for the public weal should have influence to circumscribe the provisions which the necessary operations of the present moment require on the Barbary coast, will it not betray us into degredations and sacrifices which will be felt by the latest generations of posterity? Can there be a doubt that the Regencies are all covertly leagued in the war? Is not the question at issue between them and us, whether we will yield ourselves *tributary* and subscribe to conditional *articles of slavery*; or take an attitude more analogous to our national glory and interest? Is there a citizen in America who would not rather contribute something extraordinary for an effectual resistance to the pretentions of these Beys, than by an illusive calculation of gaining by withholding those contributions, take the yoke of a Barbary pirate; subscribe to voluntary chains; and leave the blush of ages inscribed on our tombs!

Let my fellow citizens be persuaded, that there is no borne to the avarice of the Barbary princes: like the insatiate grave, they can never have enough. Consign them the revenue of the United States as the price of peace, they would still tax our labors for more *veritable expressions of our friendship*. But it is a humiliating consideration to the industrious citizen, the sweat of whose brow supports him with bread, that a tithe from his hard earnings must go to purchase oil of roses to perfume a pirate's beard!

It would be indeed something astonishing that these pitiful hordes of sea robbers should have acquired such an ascendency over the small and even considerable states of Christendom, were it not easily accounted for upon commercial principles. It is true that Denmark and Sweden (and even the United States, following the example) gratuitously furnish almost all their materials for ship building

and munitions of war ; besides the valuable jewels and large sums of money we are continually paying into their hands for their forbearance, and for the occasional ransom of captives. Holland and Spain bring them cash, naval constructors, engineers, and workmen in their dock yards. Without these resources theywould soon sink under their own ignorance and want of means to become mischievous. Why this humiliation ? Why furnish them the means to cut our own throats ? It is from a degrading counting house policy in the cabinets of the more powerful nations of Europe to keep these marauders in existence as a check upon the commercial enterprise of their weak neighbors. And from a principle of commercial rivalship among the tributaries, which aims to supplant each other in the friendship of these chiefs by the preponderance of bribes : a principle, however, which ultimately defeats its own object :—for the Beys, like apostate lawyers, take fees on both sides, and by a rule of inversion, turn their arguments against the client who has the heaviest purse.

In addition to the ordinary inducements of the Barbary States to commit piracies on our commerce there is another incentive equally powerful, which may have escaped the notice of the people of the United States, and yet which affects only us. We are the rivals of Algiers and Tunis in one principal article of commerce in the Mediterranean ; which is bread corn. Immence quantities of that essential life article are annually shipped from both those Regencies to the ports of Spain and Italy, and occasionally to other ports of Christendom in that sea. This article of commerce at Algiers, as well as all others, is farmed by the Jew house of Bacri and Busnah ; who are well known to have a preponderating influence in all the affairs of that government.

At Tunis, the government itself monopolise the entire commerce of the kingdom. In both Regencies that rivalship cannot but excite a spirit of hos-

tility to our commerce ; more particularly so as this is the chief article of exportation in both countries ; from which the governments receive their principal revenue ; and an article which always commands ready sale and cash payment, or advantageous barter.

In case of a rupture with either, or both those Regencies, a plentiful supply of this article to those ports in the Mediterranean, and a close blockade of the enemy's ports, might bring them to their senses. It would be, next to an invasion of their country, the most wounding blow which could be inflicted. It would convince them that they have as much need of our friendship as we have of theirs. Are not such the principles of reciprocity we should wish to establish ?

I am aware that these remarks may be deemed irrelative to the subject of this exposition. They may not be found, however, foreign to the interest of the citizens of the United States. They are the result of observations taken on the spot ; and will probable, at some not very distant period, be found to contain substance. * * * * *

I believe it will also appear manifest that the measures pursued by me with Hamet Bashaw, were influenced by no stronger motives than an ardent zeal to serve my country by chastising an enemy, who richly merits chastisement, in a way economical, effectual and honorable. That this plan might have been seasonably effectuated, if I had not been abandoned by the very characters on whom its execution ultimately depended. And that thus all expence to the United States would have been saved.

It is hoped it will be considered that in any event of the issue of this project, but *one citizen of the United States can be particularly affected by it.* One indeed, may be ruined ! But forgive the boldness of the appeal, would it become the honor and the magnanimity of my country to pass so severe a

decision on upright intentions ! Where is the country which ever called upon a general to reimburse the expenses of a battle or a campaign ? If the expenses of the measures I have conducted, and for which I thought myself authorized to apply public funds, should be admitted to my credit, there may be found a small balance due to me from the United States. If not, I am at once a bankrupt and a beggar ! Net product of the earnings of almost five years exile !

I very well know that there is one, and perhaps, two, individuals, who have *been* in the Mediterranean, who would be willing enough to see this termination of my affairs. Individuals who, with a view of shrouding positive delinquency in the imagery of malfeasance of office, on my part, have anonymously come forward and stamped my conduct before the public with the epithets of *speculative* and *fraudulent* ! Conscious I am that this nameless, blushless accusing spirit merits not the attention of a refutation. It is nevertheless due to my country. If at any period of my agency I had been actuated by motives of speculation, means have not been wanting which might have been employed in a manner not to have been detected nor evaded.

If I had received a tiskery for a thousand caffices of wheat, worth ten thousand dollars, which the Bey of Tunis tendered me as an *expression of his personal attachment*, when he was intriguing to obtain a promise for a ship of war, what mortal eye could have ferreted out the fraud ? It would have been a transaction between him and me altogether secure from penetration. The tacit condition of receiving it would have been, on my part, only to write the government stating the necessity of sending out the frigate as a preventative of war. This would have implied an assumpsit which could not have been evaded.—My country would have sacrificed one hundred thousand dollars : ten per cent of which would have been my compensation for manifesting a *disposition congenial to the Barbary interests !*

When the bankruptcy of Jaume and Shwatz happened at Leghorn, and their agent at Tunis, Julius Cesar Alberganty, was involved in the sum of $120,000, had I acknowledged him an American, certificates of which he held from our Consuls in Italy, Sactoris and Appleton, and thus given countenance to the pretensions against the United States of the Algerine Jews, who were his chief creditors, a douceur of twenty per cent on this sum was proposed as my commission for *using so prudent a precaution against affronting the "Potent Dey of Algiers."*

When six Danish vessels were abandoned to me by their masters for a sum which the negociator, Koefoed, acknowledges to his court not to be one third their value; had speculation on the misfortune or misery of men influenced my conduct, is it reasonable to suppose I should have rendered them to their proprietors for the original sum paid as their ransom?

If this principle had actuated my agency in 1801, when passports for the Bey's merchantmen to Tripoli were demanded of me, in which I might have taken an interest, and in refusing which, I put my life in jeopardy, is it not natural enough to suppose I would have sought some pretext to justify the concession. It would have been very easy to say, this was the only preservative of peace; and this reason would have been valid against all conjecture.

And when this demand was again revived in 1802, and it was declared to me that a refusal on my part would produce a proscription from the court against me; do the sacrifices I made in adherence to my position look like a preference of my own interest or safety to that of the public?

Or, finally, when the Bey of Tunis ordered my ship Gloria to America with his letter to the President, demanding a frigate; and furnished her with his passport for the purpose; if I had consulted my particular interest in the affair, is it reasonable to

suppose I would again hazard my personal safety and, instead of obeying the Bey's mandate, profit of the protection of his passport to get the ship to Leghorn for sale at a certain loss? (I sacrificed $7,000 in the sale of that ship, and am without remedy.) If I had yielded to the Bey's demand, or rather positive order in this instance, and the pretext would have been a good one, the United States must have indemnified me in all the consequent expenses. But the flag of the United States has never been seen floating in the service of a Barbary pirate, under my agency.

I do not arrogate to myself any peculiar merit in having rejected overtures and submitted to sacrifices: my situation rendered it incumbent on me. But if any consideration be due to the principles of analogy, or parity of reasoning, the inference will be natural here, that, instead of abandoning the public interest to speculative views, I have sacrificed my own, as well as my personal tranquility in a fixed adherence to the duties of my trust. Stupidity alone could admit the idea that a man, in the exercise of reason, would forego so many secure opportunities to enrich himself by an indirect speculation, and yet create schemes of fraud at midday and in the face of the world. I have a right to feel indignant at this *cowardly* attempt to assassinate my reputation!

In order to show what degree of respectability attached itself to my agency in the opinion of respectable Europeans on the spot, it may not be deemed vanity, nor improper, to subjoin here a translated copy of a letter from a gentleman of rank and consideration, dictated by the impulse of his feelings on hearing of the events which occurred the day next before its date; and also of a certificate from my colleagues the European agents, presented me through the medium of the Chevalier de Barthes.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER.

SIR, AND MUCH HONORED FRIEND,

Tunis, March 7th, 1803.

WE behold you then finally forced out of Tunis after having for years endeavored honorably to support the interest of your nation, without one moment enjoying, during this epock, the trifling consideration vainly attached to the station of a Consul in Barbary ! We behold you at length the victim, I hope momentary, of a combination of events and intrigues the origin of which, I venture to say, may be traced to the peace of the United States with these Regencies ; whose expedients, unhappily for the cause of humanity, the civilized world despise with too much haughtiness and ignorance ; and whose ridiculous pretensions they flatter with too much patience and baseness. Your peace with Tunis, above all, was negociated under the most unfavorable auspices. It ought, with some reason, to shock the personal pride of this Bey, that the Dey of Algiers, or rather his Jews, assumed an air of being your protectors, calculated to impress a notion of dependance on the Tunissian prince. This impolitic step gave him no exalted opinion of the genius of your government. And, indeed, your inactive war with Tripoli can impress him with no great idea of your coercive powers.

Never had a Consul so thorny a way to clear as yourself ; an object so difficult of attainment. He, who had the honor to represent your nation on your arrival here, by the slavish and cringing part he acted at this court, had the means and the baseness to sell your interests ; the chief source, in my opinion, to which you may ascribe your subsequent political embarrassments.

Is it possible to doubt, a single moment, the unfavorable opinion this man impressed on the Bey, of your government!

I will not conceal what I observed at the time of negociating your treaty, that *the Bey of Tunis is not establishing a peace with the United States; it is a commercial speculation: Famin is his political factor, and will gain the commission!* I now venture to add; the Bey had reason, the error was on the part of the United States. It is not astonishing that the successor of Famin, taking a position firm and analogous to the station he came here to fill, should surprise the Bey by so singular a contrast. He had a right to doubt whether this firmness were peculiar to your individual character; or whether it was that which your government wished to display here. Ought he not to say, *a nation who begins their representation by one of my minions have not the appearance of meaning to brave my pretensions?* This inadvertence in the choice of the first individual, who ought, plainly speaking, to fix in a degree the consideration which the United States should in future enjoy with this Regency, is a fault of which the actual consequences prove the magnitude, and the injurious impressions of which will with difficulty be eradicated; time will demonstrate this.

Pardon these reflections.—The idea of your departure force them from me. Friendship founded in esteem participates the injuries which a friend experiences. I do not offer you my condolence. Duty discharged inspires not such a sentiment.

I am, Sir,
Your devoted and faithful friend,

Marse, two leagues from Tunis.

To WILLIAM EATON, Esq.
Consul of the United States, &c.

TRANSLATION OF THE CERTIFICATE.

"WE the undersigned Consuls and agents of the European governments, at the Regency of Tunis, certify, that Mr. WILLIAM EATON, Consul of the United States of America, has, on every occasion, supported the rights of his nation with dignity and integrity. It is with pleasure we give him this testimony of the truth and of our friendship.

Done at Tunis, the 10th March, 1803.

Signed, A. NYSSEN, *Consul General of the Batavian Republic.*

DEVOISE, *Commissary General and charge of affairs of the French Republic, near the Bey.*

Seals.

HENRY CLARK, *British charge of affairs.*

JOSEPH NODRIEZ, *Consul General, and charge of affairs of his Catholic Majesty.*

HOLCK, *His Danish Majesty's Consul General.*

I ask nothing of my country but reciprocal support.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my profound respect,
WILLIAM EATON.

City of Washington, Feb. 16*th,* 1804.

N. B. Touching at Algiers, Consul O'Brien came on board. He expressed surprize at seeing me. I sketched to him the event of my congee at Tunis. He said he had apprehended a squall : and expressed his reasons : which he reduced to writing, as follows.

"This will certify, that, in October 1802, a respectable Jew merchant from Tunis declared to me, and in the presence of Bocri and Busnah of Al-

giers, and also in the presence of Capt. Morris" (Andrew) " that the Sapitapa, or Tunissian Minister, had declared to the said Jew, that he would work the destruction of the American Consul at Tunis. The Jew further added, that the Sapitapa said, he was determined to have an American Consul more pliable to his *views*.

Given under my hand, this 20th day of March, 1803.

(Signed) RICHARD O'BRIEN."

Mr. EATON's accounts, however, were not wholly adjusted this session. In April he was appointed navy agent of the United States, for the several Barbary powers, with the view of going forward to Hamet Bashaw, to aid the operations of the United States' squadron against the ruling Bashaw of Tripoli.

In June he embarked on board the frigate John Adams, in company with the President, the Congress, the Essex and the Constellation, all in commission for the Mediterranean service, under Commodore Samuel Barron, and Captains Rodgers, J. Barron, Campbell and Chauncey.

At sea Mr. Eaton wrote the following letter to Col. Dwight of Springfield.

TO COL. DWIGHT.

Extract of a letter (of instructions) from the Secretary of State to James Leander Cathcart, dated April 9th, 1803.

" MY last to you was of August 22d, 1802. It was then hoped you would have been successfully engaged in making peace with Tripoli, for which the crisis was peculiarly favorable. The course of circumstances having deprived us of the advantages of this crisis, to which the tenor of your

official instructions was adopted, the President has thought proper to review them with an eye to the charge in the state of things under which, if peace be still unmade, the negociations for it must still be carried on. And considering that the Bashaw is no longer under the domestic distresses, which, at one time, humbled his pretensions; that all the other nations at war with him, have yielded to the customary terms of peace; and that the new terms, which the concurrent policy of all civilized nations ought to force on these Barbarians, would now be pursued by the United States at a very great expense, not only without the cooperation of a single other power, but in opposition to the example of all, and at a period, in different respects critical to their affairs, it is thought best that you should not be *tied down to a refusal of presents*, whether to be included in the peace, or to be made *from time to time during its continuance*.—Especially as in the latter case the title to the presents will be a motive to its continuance; to admit that the Bashaw shall receive, in the first instance, including the consular present, the sum of 20,000 dollars and at the rate afterwards of eight or ten thousand dollars a year.

If these sums can be reduced, you will, of course, avail yourself of the opportunity. But no enlargement of them towards the examples of other nations will be admissible; especially if, at the date of the negociations, none of our citizens should be in captivity.

The presents, whatever the amount or the purpose of them, (except the consular present, which, as usual, may consist of jewelry, cloth, &c.) must be made in *money*, and not in stores: and also the periodical payments are to be *biennial* rather than annual; and the *arrangement of the presents is to form NO PART of the PUBLIC TREATY*, if a *private promise* and *understanding* can be substituted.

The Dey of Algiers being inflexible in refusing to receive you as Consul, the President has not deem-

ed it proper, especially under present circumstances, to contest a right possessed and occasionally exercised by all governments, and will therefore without delay, send another successor to Mr. O'Brien. He reserves to you, however, the Consulate at Tunis; which was your first object, and which Mr. Eaton has signified his purpose of leaving. Your commission is herewith inclosed, with a letter from the President to the Bey.

It is foreseen that the Bey of Tunis will expect to receive periodical presents, in like manner as the Bashaw of Tripoli; and we are prepared to arrange them. He has made several demands of presents from the United States, and last of all a frigate. These have generally been declined on our part, and we are determined to withhold the latter; but the circumstance may be glanced at, as our motive for proposing the periodical payments, by which we wish at once to manifest our good will and liberality to the Regency; to give him an interest in preserving peace; and to regulate at a fixed rate what is now so uncertain as to its demands.

It is believed also, that if other circumstances are propitious, it will be eligible to settle the acceptance of them by Tunis, at a moderate rate, as a preliminary to the negociation with Tripoli, since it will quiet the former Regency; afford a scale for settling with the latter; and anticipate a limit to the proposal the Bey might otherwise make by refering to the precedent set with respect to Tripoli. The sum to be allowed Tunis is to be payable in cash, and not to exceed the rate of $10,000 per annum, to be paid biennially, if it can be so settled." &c.

Mr. Cathcart proceeded to Tunis with these terms and a consular present, some time in the summer of 1803; but the Consul and the terms were both rejected by the Bey. It appears Mr. Cathcart wrote the Bey from on board, after having left the kingdom, or while at anchor in the road of Tunis, in terms at which his Excellency felt his piratical dig-

nity insulted, and on which account he memorialized the President of the United States.

In consequence of which the President wrote the Bey.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to the MOST ILLUSTRIOUS and MOST MAGNIFICENT PRINCE, the BEY of TUNIS.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,

I RECEIVED in due time your letter of 7th of September, repeating the request of a frigate of 36 guns, with which, on a former occasion I had informed you that circumstances did not permit us to comply. I am under the necessity of stating that these circumstances continue; and that our naval force, being only proportioned to our exigencies, we cannot with prudence lesson it by parting with any portion of it.

I should regret much a misconception of our motives on this occasion. We set a just value on your friendship, as we do on that of all other nations with whom we have intercourse, and, as we presume they do on ours.

These mutual friendships, and the interests arising out of them, are equivalents, the one for the other; and authorize equal claims and rights on both sides.

Of our dispositions towards yourself in particular, we have not been wanting in proofs, in addition to the faithful fulfilment of our treaty; nor shall we, on proper occasions, fail to continue reasonable manifestations of them, according to the rules we observe in our intercourse with nations.

Such being our regard for you, it is with peculiar concern I learn, from your letter of 14th September, that Mr. Cathcart, whom I had chosen to succeed to the place of Mr. EATON, near you, and chosen from a confidence in his integrity, experience, and good

dispositions, has so conducted himself as to incur your displeasure. In doing this, be assured, he has gone against the letter and spirit of his instructions: which were, that his deportment should be such as to make my esteem and respect for your character both personal and public; and to cultivate your friendship by all the attentions and services he could render. So soon as he went out of this line he was out of the line of his duty; and his acts are disclaimed as in opposition to his orders. On his return to the United States, he will be made sensible how far, in this, he departed from the intention of his employers.

The consideration that the bonds of peace between nations ought not to be burst asunder by the hasty and unauthorized acts of a public agent, was worthy of your wisdom and justice. And the acquiescence in the transaction of our affairs by Mr. Davis, until an agent could be sent with formal authorities, manifested a desire of maintaining a good understanding, which, being reciprocal is auspicious to our peace.

In selecting another character to take the place of Mr. Cathcart, I shall take care to fix on one, who, I hope, will better fulfil the duties of respect and esteem for you; and who, in so doing only, will be the faithful representative and organ of our earnest desire that the peace and friendship so happily subsisting between the two countries may be firm and permanent. And I pray Almighty God, great and good friend, that he may have you under his holy keeping.

Done at the city of Washington, in the United States of America, this twenty seventh day of January, one thousand eight hundred and four.

(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JAMES MADISON, *Secretary of state.*

He must be a very coward who can receive an affront and beg pardon for the injury. The language

of the Bey's letter, demanding a frigate, was the language of a lord to his vassal. The spirit which dictated the answer betrays more the inspiration of Carter's Mountain than Bunker's Hill. If I recollect ever having seen the effusions of so much meanness of spirit flow from an American pen, it was in Chancellor Livingston's letter of congratulation to Talleyrand on the successful murders of the imperial highwayman, Bonaparte! Who can any longer doubt that our exalted philosopher is a humble Christian, after having seen, in so many instances, his ready obedience to one of the most mortifying injunctions of that system: "If thine enemy smite thee on the one cheek turn thou the other also!" But if "all liars shall have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone," as much as he hates the smell of gunpowder, he stands awfully exposed to that of sulphur!

It may recur to some of my friends that, on my arrival in America, May 5th, 1803, I stated, in a Boston federal paper, that the Bey of Tunis had demanded a frigate of 36 guns of the President; and that shortly after an article appeared under the official column of Smith's paper at Washington, denying the correctness of my statement. The tenor of that article plainly shewed that it came from the department of state; and my truth sunk under the influence of dignified fraud. But how brazen and blushless must have been that hypocrisy, which dared so deliberately to pass this deception on the public credulity, and thus wrongfully to lay me under the imputation of misrepresentation; when those instructions to Mr. Cathcart of April 9th, had existed in the office more than a month, and had actually gone forward, with the acceptance of my resignation!

An article in those instructions states that I had signified my intention to leave the Consulate at Tunis. Accompanying the Bey's letter, demanding a frigate, went forward a fair report of the resistance I

had opposed to the claim, of my assurances to the Bey that he would never receive any further concessions from the United States, as the condition of peace, and my plain declaration that, if further concessions were made, *I would not be the medium through whom they should be communicated.* I requested Mr. Madison to make known this resolution to the President, with an expression of my further determination that, unless supported in the attitude I had taken at that piratical court, and taken in strict obedience to the whole tenor of Mr. Jefferson's instructions, *I would not serve another season in that station.* I had perceived a languor in the measures of government, concerning Barbary affairs, which foreboded humiliations, in which, not having been accustomed to retraction, I had no notion of acting a part. But it was intended these late instructions should be concealed from me ; as it was also that the prostration of the national honor, they authorized, should be from the public mind !

The dignity of the United States was laid at the feet of those Chiefs of dog kennels, Tunis and Tripoli, by our President's prayers that they would consent to accept the homage of a tribute, which should be entailed on our posterity to all generations ; yet so as " to form no part of the public treaty if a private promise and understanding could be substituted !"

On my arrival at Washington, I remonstrated with Mr. Madison against the imposition passed on the public and the injury done my honor by the contradiction, which had gone from his office to the national Intelligencer, against the statement I had communicated to the public. He evaded the subject. I waited on the President and the Attorney General. One of them was *civil,* and the other *grave* ; but neither disposed to give me the satisfaction I demanded, and which common honesty should have induced them voluntarily to render. It was very easy to be perceived that changes had been adopted in our system of intercourse with the Regency I had

left, which rendered my opinions nugatory; and that, though all acknowledged my zeal and decision agreeably to instructions, all seemed indifferent about the sacrifices thence resulting to myself, and careful to conceal from me what those changes were. Notwithstanding which, I endeavored to enforce conviction on the mind of Mr. Lincoln, of the necessity of meeting the aggressions of Barbary, by retaliation. He waved the subject; and amused me with predictions of a political millennium, which was about to happen in the United States. The millennium was to usher in upon us as the irresistible consequence of the goodness of heart, integrity of mind, and correctness of disposition of Mr. Jefferson. All nations, even pirates and savages, were to be moved by the influence of his persuasive virtue and masterly skill in diplomacy. Whatever faith I might otherwise have been prevailed on to place in the prophecies of that old elect lady, I could not yield the assent of my mind to the truth of the *data* on which she predicated this. But though I did not presume to contest with her the attributes of the American Baal, who was to work this miracle on other nations for the exclusive good of our own, I could not help expressing my doubts of the natural temper of mankind, as too depraved to be so marvelously influenced by reflective goodness. For, though the depravity was to be regretted, it is a truth to which the experience of every day bore testimony, that the voluntary acts of benevolence exercised by individuals or nations towards others, if they savored of weakness or pusillanimity, generally produced contempt rather than respect; and invited insult rather than inspired gratitude.

No acts of the sublimest goodness would shield an individual nor a nation, from violence and pillage, who keep no locks to their coffers nor guards to their magazines. Men yield their homage rather to the objects of their terror than of their gratitude. Jove himself would receive neither sacrifices nor

prayers at his altars, if it were not for his thunders. And no man ever yielded the homage of respect to man till first laid under apprehensions of danger from withholding it.

My old pupil was so wrapped up in faith of his idol that my morality had no more effect upon him than it would upon a young Hopkintonian candidate. He did not tell me, however, that the productive goodness on which all depended was to exhibit itself towards other nations by contributions from our national treasury, and by a shameless prostitution of the national honor!

The same spirit of submission which dictated the instructions of April 9th, 1803, pervades the body of the President's letter of January 7th, 1804. Both are so repugnant to the system urged in my statement to Congress about the same time, that I now feel the full force of an observation made to me by a gentleman belonging to that body, that "Government would not have called for my services if they could do without them."

The proposition of $10,000 tribute has been volunteered by Mr. Cathcart to the Bashaw of Tripoli and by Mr. O'Brien and Davis to the Bey of Tunis; and, thank God, by both rejected as *too trifling a consideration for their friendship*; and the feelings of the nation on this subject have at length been so clearly expressed that the President will not presume to renew the offer. But I have no doubt that the chaste philosopher will, after all that is past, take to himself the merit of having redeemed the honor of his country by resisting those dishonorable terms of peace with these two Regencies.

Had the private bargain been struck according to calculations of our chief Magistrate, the navy, before this, would have been removed and hauled up at Monticello. He will now have the merit also of reviving the navy, and restoring the credit of the national flag. *A man the most fortunate in contingency*—the most *base* in *calculation*.

I am about to close this long, and already too tedious letter by detailing a proof of this conclusion, in which I am too seriously concerned, perhaps to be cool.

When on the 30th March last, at Washington, I engaged to take the management of an enterprise on the coast of Barbary, which had for its object the recovery of our captives in Tripoli, and imposing terms of peace on the Regency, by bringing a rival and an army in the enemy's rear, the President and his cabinet council had formed sanguine hopes of its success. Hamet Bashaw, the elder brother and legitimate sovereign of the enemy, having long since been gotten out of his exile at Tunis by my management, had placed himself at the head of an army of Arabs at Derne, and had gained some considerable advantages in the field over the army of the usurper. He now offered, by letters to the President, to share the benefits of those advantages with the United States, on condition of an effectual cooperation with him on our part against the common enemy. The prospect of success being then beyond a doubt, those overtures were accepted, and the President concluded to send out to him, as he had asked, those supplies, on the score of a loan, some field artilery, a thousand stands of arms, and forty thousand dollars. On my return to Washington, May 10th, those prospects were encouraged by information of other advantages gained by the troops of the friendly Bashaw. Two months were consumed while the squadron were getting in readiness to take its departure. These supplies were to have been taken on board at Hampton roads, as the Secretary of the navy informed me. Mean time information arrived that the Bashaw had retired to Alexandria *for want of supplies.* On the first symptoms of a reverse in his affairs, discouragement superceded resolution with our executive, and *economy* supplanted good faith and honesty. The auxiliary supplies, now

supposed to be in readiness, are withheld. The President becomes reserved. The Secretary of war *believes we had better pay tribute.* He said this to me in his own office. Gallatin, like a cowardly Jew, shrinks behind the counter. Mr. Madison *leaves every thing to the Secretary of the navy department.* And I am ordered on the expedition by Secretary Smith, who by the bye, is as much of a gentleman and a soldier as his relation with administration will suffer, *without any special instructions* to regulate my conduct; without even a letter to the ally to whom I am directed; without any thing whatever said to the commander in chief on the subject of supplies; nothing but a general and vague discretion concerning the cooperation, and nothing more to him of my agency in the affair than that, "Mr. Eaton *is our agent for the several Barbary Regencies, and will be extremely useful.*" Thus tacitly referring him to me in case the project should seem feasible.

The cautious policy of the President, in this instance as in others, is calculated to evade responsibility, as well as to secure to himself all the advantages of a miracle: for, as I have before stated, he neither sends forward supplies, nor even makes any reply to the chief of whose friendship he is willing to profit. If, therefore, the cooperation fail of success, he evades the imputation of having embarked in a speculative, theoretical, chimerical project. This will fix on me. Whereas, if it succeeds, the glory of the enterprize will be all his own; ascribed to his foresight and sagacity. A more embarrassing situation therefore than that in which this pusilanimous conduct and sly policy places me, can hardly be conceived. I carry with me no evidence whatever, from our government, of the sincerity of their intentions towards the friendly Bashaw. He has once been disappointed in the reliance he placed in the assurances I had given him; because those assur-

ances, though recognized by the President through Mr. Madison, were not supported by the Commander on whom the execution of the measure was incumbent. I have no alternative but to place my breast in this breach of confidence and good faith. This I am resolved to do, and, by exposing my temporal salvation, convince the ally and the world of a consistency and fidelity in my country which, I myself am convinced, does not exist with our administration any further than considerations purely individual render it convenient. In these resolutions, I am bound to Egypt. But what must be done when I get there will require the utmost efforts of my capacity at expedient. Some expectations are formed by the people of the United States from this coalition. Some confidence, I am persuaded, is placed by my friends in my zeal to render it advantageous and honorable to the nation; and some reliance on my agency to give it shape and effect. These confidences shall not be disappointed. And though the adventure, for I now consider it as such, be as forlorn, and, perhaps, as hazardous as any one ever successfully undertaken by an individual, I will carry it into execution or perish in the endeavor. I am convinced that our captives cannot otherwise be released without ransom; and, as an individual, I would rather yield my person to the danger of war in almost any shape, than my pride to the humiliation of *treating* with a wretched pirate for the ransom of men who are the rightful heirs of freedom.

But lest this expedition should fail of success, and my intentions should consequently be distorted into a mere matter of speculation, I have resolved not to accept any compensation for my services, except a sufficiency to cover my actual expences.

I can say therefore, as a Spartan Ambassador to the king of Persia's Lieutenant, when asked "whether he came with a public commission or on

his own account?"—"If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for myself."

I remain, with great respect,
Sir, Your Obedient servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

Hon. THOMAS DWIGHT.

FROM THE JOURNAL.

July 21st. 1804, At meridian, made Pico, one of the Western Islands or Azores. Winds had been uniformly fair 15 days.

Sunday, 22d. Winds shifted a head. Stood in near the islands.

Saturday, 28th. Constant head winds. At Meridian, the frigate Congress made a signal discovering Madeira.

Sunday, 29th. Beating with ahead wind, came within 3 leagues of Funchal, the chief Town of Madeira.

Sunday, August 5th. At 1-2 Past 11, made Magadore, on the coast of Africa, bearing S. by E. winds constantly a head.

Sunday, 12th. At 9, A. M. Made cape Spartel, bearing S. E. six leagues. It is remarkable that from leaving cape Henry, July 5th, till making the Western Islands, on the 21st, the winds were constantly strong and fair from the south west; and from this date till making Cape Spartel on the 12th August, they were as constantly strong and contrary, from the East, varying a few points northerly and southerly. That the first 15 days we considered our passage more than two thirds made; but that the other third was gained with difficulty in 22 days. During the whole passage the weather was extremely fine: not a day but a ship's barge would have lived at sea without danger.

August 16th. The President and Constellation got under way for Tripoli. Captains Rodgers and

S. Barron with the Congress and Essex ordered to the Morocco coast to watch the movements of the Emperor.

Sunday, 19*th*. 8, A. M. Within a league and a half of the island of Alboran.—Winds ahead.

20*th*. Off Cape De Gat, becalmed. Sunk a queen's ware plate over the strern, suspended to a bog line, which was seen at the depth of one hundred and forty eight feet.

21*st*. Delivered my opinion to Commodore Barran concerning the apparent advantages of cooperating with Hamet Bashaw against Tripoli : and the probable disadvantages of acting without his cooperation.

If this plan succeeds (which will certainly have the full coincidence of the Commodore) and a treaty should follow, insert some clause favorable to the Danes and Swedes ; because the Consul of the former nation has befriended our captives in Tripoli ; and because the latter have been disappointed in the reliance they placed in our alliance with them in this war ; and because neither the one nor the other is our rival in the commerce of the Mediterranean.

Thursday, *August* 23*d*. Half past 3, P. M. latitude N. 36 degrees 30 minutes longitude W. 2 degrees 41 minutes 15 seconds, 17 miles W. off cape De Gat, felt a violent shock of an earthquake, which lasted about 30 seconds. It had the exact resemblance of the ship's keel grazing hard upon a rock. We were at dinner in the cabin. The shock was general through the ship ; it was supposed she was aground—Consternation seized the board—all ran on deck—the ship kept her way and no appearance of rocks or shoals could be discovered. The Constellation, whose Captain dined aboard of us, we being becalmed, soon made signal to speak the Commodore ; and coming up, reported she had struck a rock. On enquiry, we found she felt the shock at the same instant it was felt in the President. A Spanish merchantman being at that time about one

league on the Commodore's landboard bow, a breeze sprung up : we bore down and spoke her : she had felt the shock, and said it was very violent. About 5 o'clock we experienced another emotion in the ship, less violent, but more tremulous, than the first.

Saturday, 25th. Off cape De Gat, a strong gale ahead ; felt a violent shock of an earthquake.

Sunday, August 26th. Made Cape Falcon, on the Barbary coast.

Monday, 27th. Made Cape Ivi, on the Barbary coast.

Friday, 31st. E. wind, veered to the north ; and we laid our course for Malta. It is remarkable that since the 21st July, the day we made Pico, a space of forty one days, the wind has been constantly and directly ahead ; excepting about 12 hours in entering and leaving Gibraltar, during which time we have beat to windward a distance of four hundred and fifty leagues.

Sunday, September 2d. 6, P. M. Made the island of Sardinia.

5th. Arrived at Malta. Quarrantined : having spoke a Tunissian.

6th. Mr. O'Brien, under the stern, said he had been to Tripoli and Tunis, by authority. To the Bey of the latter he had offered an annual tribute of eight thousand dollars to compromise for a frigate by him demanded of the United States. To the former one hundred and ten thousand dollars for a peace and ransom of our captives. Terms rejected by both. * * * * * * *

To Mr. Smith, Secretary of the Navy.

Malta, September 6th, 1804.

HAMET BASHAW is at Alexandria, in the friendship and protection of a Bey of Egypt ; waiting, as Mr. Pulis informs me, for answers to his proposals offered to the government of the United States. The advantages calculated to result from a cooperation with him seem not to have diminished

in prospect from any occurrences which have happened since those proposals were made. The reigning Bashaw persists in his demand of a ransom for our captives. But the distress, which must be occasioned by the means he is obliged to use in support of these pretentions, cannot but increase the discontentment of his subjects, and ripen them for revolt. For, such of them as subsist, ordinarily, by cruising or commerce, being barred those resources by a harrassing blockade; and such as depend on labor for subsistence, being compelled to serve for his defence without pay, will be very apt to seize an opportunity to relieve themselves from that distress, when it offers, on principles so consistent with their proper allegiance and religion. Those subjects, who were heretofore in the interest of the friendly Bashaw, are still so. Through these instruments, I firmly believe, the enemy may be taken from his sofa at the same instant that our fellow citizens are rescued from chains. The only obstacles which seem to oppose the success of this measure are want of supplies to put it into operation. These are not in the fleet; and the Commodore is not decided whether any construction of the President's instructions extends to a discretion of procuring and furnishing them: he will probably express himself on this subject after having fixed on his plan of operations.

Saturday, September 15th. Went on board the brig Argus for Malta, at 8 o'clock, A. M.

Monday, 17th. At midnight arrived at Malta. Found the Constitution there.

Saturday, 22d. Sailed for Syracuse. Commodore Preble on board.

Monday, 24th. Arrived at Syracuse. The John Adams here.

Wednesday, 26th. Took room at the house of George Dyson, Esq. navy agent of the United States; a plain, frank, up and down, hospitable Yorkshireman.

Thursday, 27th. The President, Commodore Barron, arrived. Col. Lear and Lady on board. The Commodore in ill health.

Saturday, 29th. Sat out for Messina by land, in company with Commodore Preble, Capt. Decatur, Mr. Morris, the Commodore's Purser, and Mr. Ryland Randolph, conducted by Lorenzo Abbate, a very attentive and intelligent Sicilian, lodged at a village called Lentina, near the lake of the same name.

Sunday, September 30th. Took a tour in boats upon the lake. A stagnant, sickly surface exhaling a foetid atmosphere, very similar to that between the ruins of Carthage and the city of Tunis : said to have been created by an earthquake : covered with fowl, and full of fish, both of a wretched quality. Arrived at Catania, foot of Mount Etna, and took lodgings at the tavern of Lorenzo Abbates, our guide, the only tolerable public house of entertainment in the place.

Monday, October 1st. Visited the natural and artificial curiosities of Catania.

Wednesday, 3d. Sat off for Messina, lodged at a village under the foot of the Mountain, 20 miles from Catania.

Thursday, 4th. Travelled twenty one miles and lodged at a village eighteen miles from Messina.

October 5th. Arrived at Messina, at 9, A. M. Found here the brig Argus and schooner Enterprise, which had come in the day before.

Sunday, 7th. Took lodgings with Jonathan Bradbert, Esq. navy agent of the United States, a rich, intelligent, respectable British merchant, of plain manners and hospitable dispositions. Average dividend of expence from Syracuse to Messina, dollars 36,30. Gratifications—the society only of our own party ; and there damped by a continued series of melancholy proofs how fatal to human happiness is the hypocricy of religious bigotry in the hands of a privileged priesthood. Every thing is stamped

with wretchedness ; which nothing short of an entire revolution or the resurrection can erase. Brydone is a graceless liar—so is general description.

Sunday, Oct. 25th. Dined with the Governor of Messina.

Thursday, 18th. Sailed from Messina. Commodore Preble and Capt. Decatur passengers.

Friday, 19th. 2, A. M. Arrived at Syracuse.

Monday, 22d. Sailed for Malta.

Tuesday, 23d. 9, P. M. Arrived at Malta.

In port, the frigates President, Constitution, John Adams : brigs Argus, now arrived, and Vixen, and schooner Enterprize. Commodore Barron sick on shore.

Friday, 26th. At evening returned on board the President.

Saturday, 27th. At 4, A. M. the brig Argus sailed for the station off Tripoli.

Sunday, 28th. Entered the Congress.

Monday, 29th. Entered the Enterprise and Essex.

Oct. 31st. Sailed the Essex.

Thursday, Nov. 2d. Sailed the President, Constitution, and Congress. Took in convoy a storeship for Syracuse.

3d. Arrived at Syracuse.

4th. Commodore Barron shifted his flag on board the Essex, went himself on shore in an infirm state of health, and the President Capt. Cox, commander, put to sea on a cruise. Fell in with the Congress about three leagues from port, cruising along the coast.

8th. Returned into port. Found the Argus at anchor ; having returned from the coast on account of the small pox breaking out in her crew. She had been two days in port.

Nov. 10th. Removed with baggage on board the Argus to prosecute the expedition to Egypt. About this time Capt. Rodgers took command in the Constitution. Capt. Decatur in the Congress.

Nov. 14*th.* Argus sailed for Malta and Alexandria. Left in port at Syracuse, frigates, Constitution, Congress, Essex and John Adams: brig Scourge.

Commodore Barron sick on shore. The frigate President gone off Tripoli to relieve the Constitution.

15*th.* Arrived at Malta, midnight.

17*th.* Sailed for Egypt.

Nov. 25*th.* Arrived at Alexandria: lay off for a pilot.

26*th.* Entered the old port. In port a Turkish Admiral with one ship of the line and six frigates. The Argus saluted the Admiral's flag with 17 guns; salute returned with 13. Samuel Briggs, Esq. his Brittanic Majesty's Consul on board.

27*th.* Argus saluted the castle with 15 guns. Salute returned, gun for gun.

Waited on the Admiral, Governor, and supervisor of the revenue. Most hospitably entertained.

28*th.* Embarked for Grand Cairo by Rosetta. Lieut. Blake of the navy, Lieut. O'Bannon of the Marines, Midshipmen Mann and Danielson, Mr. Farquhar and Seid Selim, Alli, a drogoman, and six servants.

Nov. 29*th.* Detained at Alexandria by contrary winds.

30*th.* Sailed for Rosetta. At 4, P. M. anchored in Abukir Bay, by reason of the day being far spent and the danger of passing the Boghase by night. Took the occasion of visiting the battle grounds of 8th and 21st of March 1801, yet covered with human skeletons.

Dec. 1*st.* Weighed anchor at 2, A. M. at 1, P. M. entered the mouth of the Nile. At half past 2, was met by the English barge with the drogoman of the Consulate at Rosetta about three miles from the city. In the barge was Doctor Meudrici. At 3, arrived at the landing where we were met by Major Misset, the British Resident at Grand Cairo, who had taken

refuge here from the dangers which threatened Europeans in consequence of the war between the Turks and Mamelukes, which raged in that vicinity; and were by him conducted to Mr. Patruci's, the Consular house. Fast of Ramadam begins.

Dec. 2d. Impeded from proceeding for Cairo on account of a Skiak, religious chief, having siezed all the boats.

3*d.* Engaged a boat, (called *marche*,) and laid in provision for the passage.

4*th.* Embarked for Cairo. Capt. Vincengo, Major Misset's Secretary, and Doctor Mendrici, joined our party. Mr. Blake returned to Alexandria. Four servants with those gentlemen, now increased our strength to eighteen able bodied men well armed and provided. Wind coming ahead, came too near the village Deeby's west bank.

5*th.* Wind contrary, went ashore: inhabitants oppressed and miserable. At 11, A. M. made sail. The British flag displayed on Capt. Vincent's vessel; that of the United States on ours. Dined in a garden near the village Fuor. Astonished the inhabitants by the accuracy of the rifle shot, having twice split an orange, in three shot, at the distance of 32 yards.

Dec. 6th. Went on shore at the village Sabour: five hundred Albanian deserters, Arnout Turks, left this wretched village on the 4th, after having destroyed every thing valuable or growing within and about it. The inhabitants apprised us of a camp of wild Arabs about four miles above, of which they manifested great fear. They prayed for the return of the English. It is the universal prayer of Egypt.

Dec. 7th. At eleven, A. M. landed near a village on the east side of the Nile. Villagers fled at our approach. On giving tokens of friendship some of them advanced towards us: when told we were English they flocked around with demonstrations of joy; offered us their services, and raised loud ejaculations for our establishment in the country. At 6,

P. M. arrived at the town of Bulac in front of Grand Cairo. By the imprudent behavior of my young drogoman, Alli, and of my Maltee servant, Lewis, firing a musket, we narrowly escaped an assault from the Turks, who boarded us sword in hand ; but who were appeased by explanations.

Saturday, Dec. 8th. Entered Grand Cairo on horseback, accompanied by some Turkish officers of distinction ; and followed by an innumerable horde of people of all ages and sexes, curious to see Americans ! Capt. Vincents assigned us apartments in the British ministerial house, and announced us to the Vice Roy by letter. Doctor Mendrici waited on his highness in person, and informed him that an American General accompanied by several young gentlemen of the navy, who visited Cairo during the winter suspence of operations, to gratify curiosity, had arrived and would pay him the visit of respect at such time as would be agreeable. The Vice Roy had already been apprised of the arrival, and had sent horses and attendants to receive us on shore, and accompany us to Cairo. Visit him tomorrow.

Five o'clock, visit from the Vice Roy's interpreter, welcoming our arrival ; offering his civilities ; and informing that tomorrow evening at nine o'clock he would receive our visit. He appointed the *evening* because, it being the fast of Ramadam, he could offer no refreshment by day. * * * *

Dec. 19th. Visited the island Rhoda, the Nilometer, and the village Gizek ; all a pile of ruins. Palace of Murad Bey in complete ruins.

20th. Visited ancient Cairo ; the retreat and asylum of the Virgin Mary and her son Jesus.

Passing the corn market, the people there assembled, shouted at our approach, and as we passed, raised loud acclamations and prayers for the establishment of a *government of round hats in the country, that the price of bread might fall ;* supposing us to be Englishmen.

Proceeded to the village Daerteen, and were admitted into the mosque Atarenabee; and to a view of all the ladies of the village. *Omnia vincit* ARGENT.

Returned.

Dec. 21*st.* Engaged in the service a German engineer, late a Colonel in the Tyrol battalions, by name *Eugine*, [alias Leitensdorfer.] Advanced him fifty dollars.

At evening an exhibition at the English house of the almee, dancing women. Haggard prostitutes, disgustful, obscene monsters, who exhibit savage nature in jestures of studied and practised depravity: something resembling the Spanish balario, from which the latter probably originated.

26*th.* Visited the mountain Catan and the devil's coffeehouse.

To Mr. Smith, Secretary of the Navy.

Grand Cairo, December 13*th*, 1804.

LETTERS of recommendation from Sir Alexander Ball, to his Brittanic Majesty's Consul at Alexandria and resident at Cairo have had the effect to give security, and perhaps I may add *success* to this expedition.

On the 30th ult, we sailed from Alexandria for Rosetta, and arrived the day following. Found there Major Misset, the British Resident, who had left Cairo in consequence of the war which rages between the Mamelukes and the Turks; and which renders a residence here, at this moment, both dangerous and disagreeable; for nothing can be more fluctuating and capricious than the Government in this country, except the disposition of the slaves over whom it dominates.

The attention of Major Misset, the resident, though it cannot exceed my gratitude, far exceeds any means I have of expressing it. Finding him a frank, open hearted, generous soldier, I unreservedly

opened to him the object of my voyage. He took every step, which the nature of his situation would justify, to facilitate that object. And, to render our passage on the Nile and stay at Cairo safe and agreeable, he directed his Secretary, Capt. Vincents, to accompany us, and to lodge us in the English house.

I also fell in at Rosetta, with Doctor Mendrici, of whom honorable mention is made in my Communications to Government from Tunis as the Bey's chief Physician. The Doctor was sent out of that Regency about a year before me, and for reasons, if not analogous, equally cogent: myself for wanting dispositions congenial to the interest of the Bey; he for possessing dispositions congenial to the interest of the Bey's wife. He is here chief Physician to the Vice Roy, Kourchek, Ahmet Pacha, and also to the British commission.

Having chartered a *marche*, species of schooner peculiar to the river, of about forty tons burthen, on the fourth instant we embarked for this place; our strength consisting of Lieutenant O'Bannon of the Marine Corps, Midshipmen George Mann, and Eli Danielson, [son in law of GEN. EATON] Mr. Farquhar, Selim a Janisary, Alli, a drogoman, with six servants, all armed; Capt. Vincents, and Doctor Mendrici, in another boat mounting two swivels, besides muskets, pistols, and sabres, and about an equal number of people: precautions necessary to resist the predatory attacks of the wild Arabs, who infest the river's banks, and, during this general suspence of justice, prey upon the defenseless; as well as the outrage of the Albanian Turkish soldiery, who, restrained by no discipline, ravage and murder indiscriminately every where. The English and American flags were displayed upon their respective vessels.

At 3 in the afternoon of the same day, without having obtained any certain intelligence concerning the object in pursuit, we departed from Rosetta;

sailed tranquilly along the beautiful banks of the Nile; and, on the evening of the 7th, arrived at Bulac, in front of Cairo, without accident; though we were at one time under some apprehensions from a troop of wild Arabs, which we saw fall furiously upon a herd of camels, buffaloes and cattle, near the village Sabour, and drive several of them off unannoyed. The shrieks of the villagers demonstrated their consternation and anxiety, while they offered no resistance to these mounted marauders of the desert: and these, on the other hand, appeared to aim no mischief towards the persons of their inactive brethren of the plain. We had just returned on board from visiting the village; the Arab camp were within half a league; but the fire we raised from our fowling pieces upon the vast numbers of pigeons and other small fowl in its environs must have deterred them from attempting to examine our baggage. They however assailed and robbed several boats just after we had passed. This same village was but the day before plundered by five hundred Albanians, who had deserted from the Vice Roy's army and taken their rout to Damietta. Fortunate for us, perhaps, that they had not stayed a day longer; for it is doubtful whether our appearance would have been formidable to their avarice; or our resistance to their force. I make this digression to show the deplorable situation of the inhabitants of Egypt. Their prayer for the return of the English is universal; and humanity prays with them.

On the morning of the eighth, horses and attendants were sent from the palace to convey us to Cairo; and at nine o'clock we entered the city, followed by a vast concourse of people of all ages and sexes whom curiosity or want had collected about us; but at that respectful distance peculiar to the people of the east towards strangers of distinction. We passed as American Officers of the army and navy, whom curiosity had brought from Malta to Egypt during the winter's suspense of operations.

This and the following day were chiefly consumed in receiving and returning visits. Among others a visit from the palace by the Vice Roy's interpreter, welcoming our arrival, and signifying that it would be agreeable to his Highness to wait on us at the hall of audience in the Citadel at the third hour of the night of the next day. This unusual hour was fixed on by reason of the fast of Ramadam, during which no refreshments can be given by day.

Mean time I employed all prudent means to put in motion the real objects of my visit here. I found the secretary of State and two Ex-Governors of Hamet Bashaw on the spot; destitute of every thing but resentment; for even hope had abandoned them. From them I learned that their Sovereign, after a series of vicissitudes and disasters had been reduced to the alternative of joining the Mamelukes; and that he was actually with them in command of a few Tripolitans and the Arab auxiliaries, besieged with Elfi and the other Mamelukes Beys in the village of Miniet in upper Egypt.

Though glad to hear that the Bashaw was still active, and that the Arabs were still attached to his interest, the embarrassments which have hitherto accumulated to impede the execution of our plan were now heightened by the impossibility of personal access to him; the difficulty of communication; and the uncertainty of obtaining the Vice Roy's *firman* for his departure, in case of succeeding to detach him from the rebel army, as the Mamelukes are here stiled. These obstacles overcome, every thing else seemed feasible. I resolved therefore to throw myself on the honor and hospitality of the Turkish sovereign of the country.

At eight in the evening of the ninth, six Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, and a numerous escort of attendants, waited in the court yard of the British house to conduct us to the palace. Capt. Vincents and Doctor Mendrici accompanied us in their national uniform. The procession was preceded by an il-

lumination of flambeaux and torches : the streets for the distance of a mile and a half were margined with spectators, curious to see *the men who had come from the new world.* Guards, grooms and servants were stationed to receive us at the gate of the citadel. The *courbose* was paraded with troops regularly drawn up. The flights of stairs which lead to the grand saloon were flanked with young men superbly armed and in rich Turkish uniform. The hall was large and splendid ; and the court, which attended the Vice Roy, surpassed in magnificence every thing I have ever seen of the kind. His Highness, with a dignified air of affability, rose from a sofa of embroidered purple and damask cushions ; and, taking me by the hand, seated me next himself and the gentlemen in company on the right and left.

Coffee, pipes and sherbet, were served in oriental stile. The customary salutations passed and repeated. Questions on indifferent subjects asked and answered : news of the day concerning the European war : enquiries relative to our nation ; situation and extent of our territory ; date of our independence ; nations with whom we were at peace or war ; productions and commerce of the country ? &c. &c. At length, by a signal of his hand, the court retired, leaving the Vice Roy and his interpreter alone with us. He now observed that it seemed to him our visit to this country, at so critical a moment, must have something more for its object than the mere gratification of curiosity. This opened the occasion, which I was determined to seek, of making to him a candid explanation of my business.

I stated, in French, which he seemed well to understand, but which was formally translated into Turkish, a detail of our intercourse and relation with Tripoli ; negociations of peace with Joseph Bashaw ; violation of his faith ; commencement of the war, and such events in its progress as honor did not dictate to conceal : then drew a flattering though just contrast between the habits of the Barbary Prin-

ces and those of other provinces of the Ottoman empire. He listened with attention and evident gratification. Varying a little the subject, I touched upon the affinity of principle between the Islam and American religion. Both taught the existence and supremacy of *one* GOD : (let not Triune Christians startle at the emphasis placed on this numerical adjective ; it is not meant to imply that *unity* may not be composed of *congregate numbers* to suit any faith ;) both enjoined the universal exercise of humanity : and both forbade unnecessary bloodshed. He acknowledged these to be maxims of his religion. I declared that we sought in his province a legitimate sovereign of Tripoli ; who had been treacherously driven from his government and country ; in whose good faith we could place reliance, and whom we intended to restore to his throne ; and, so doing, stamp conviction on the world that we do not unsheath the sword for conquest nor for spoil, but to vindicate our rights ; and that we were ready to seize any honorable mean to prevent the further effusions of blood ; and more especially as we found that, in prosecuting the war against the faithless Joseph, the severity of our resentment fell rather upon the innocent deluded victims of his avarice and hypocricy than upon the aggressor himself.

He approved our resolution ; said he knew Hamet Bashaw ; had furnished him with supplies for temporary purposes of subsistence ; but knew not where he was at this moment. He assured us however, that, if within his influence, he would by all means aid the accomplishment of a measure so manifestly humane ; observing that his predecessor had promised auxiliaries to Hamet Bashaw, for this very purpose as soon as the tranquility of this country would admit. After a moment's reflection, he added, that, in case the Bashaw should have joined the Mamelukes, which was possible, it might change the dispositions he would otherwise make concerning him.

I replied that an object of distress could not be an object of resentment to an exalted mind ; and that it was more like God to pardon than to punish a repenting enemy. By an inclination of his head, he signified assent; and he promised to send couriers in search of Hamet Bashaw; which he has done. So have I: and, through the intervention of my friend Doctor Mendrici, who has great influence at court, and of the Vice Roy's chief interpreter, whom we have gained, there is no doubt of obtaining his permission for the embarkation of the Bashaw and his suit. The only embarrassment now is, how he will be able to withdraw himself from the cause of the Mamelukes without exciting suspicions of treason which might prove fatal to him. If he can do this, we may think the most difficult part of our plan accomplished ; for I have the falest assurance and as full confidence that through his influence we may bring any number of men on the back of Tripoli which may be deemed requisite to its entire success. And, this done, with our naval force in front, all supplies will be effectually cut off from the enemy.

Dec. 17th. Last evening, at an audience with the Vice Roy, after reproaching Hamet Bashaw, for taking part with the Mamelukes, he was prevailed upon to grant him a letter of amnesty, and permission to him to pass the Turkish army and leave Egypt unmolested. It now remains to detach him from the rebel Bey's.

Extracts ; to Hon. John Cotton Smith.

Grand Cairo, December 26th, 1804.

CAN you expect me to say any thing of Egypt after Volney, and Denon ? They have drawn from life ; and in nothing exagerated. Egypt's physical appearance is the same ; and its political is only changed, in that British regulars have succeeded to French marauders, and Turkish brigands to both. The domination of the country is now dis-

puted with these by the Mamelukes : and the desart Arabs, like the ravens and vultures of our wilderness, hanging on the rear of both armies, devour every thing which is left defenceless ; the consequent wretchedness of the inhabitants is inconceivable : danger and despair stalk every where.

Egypt must really seek a deliverer in a foreign conqueror. Here is however a singular tradition among the people that this deliverance must be effected by *Mamelukes*, another name for *slaves* ; because God hath ordained, that, since its salvation by Joseph, a Mameluke, the country must be saved by *slaves !* They admit that the English rendered them much service by expelling the French ; and pray for their return to drive out the Turks : but then, all must be ascribed to *Joseph's spirit.*

Whatever events may take place to regulate its government, and ameliorate the situation of its inhabitants, Egypt, like Carthage and Syracuse, will no more see its ancient splendor. It was the commerce of India and the borders of the red sea, flowing through these plains, more than inherent resources, which gave wealth and grandeur to ancient Egypt : these sources having found new channels, wealth and grandeur have flown with them. I can see nothing therefore on the celebrated Nile which the Ohio, Mississippi, Altamaha, Savannah, and Chesapeake, do not offer us : even her crocodiles and her *cajal* would have nothing to boast side and side by our allegators and catfish ; they are precisely the same ; and her *half grown mice* of geography can certainly be nothing more than abortions. But when I contrast the pure currents, healthful margins, and delightsome landscapes of our Susquehannah, Delaware, Hudson, and Connecticut, with the muddy waters, miry or parched banks and eternal desarts of this river ; and the intelligence, freedom and felicity of the citizens there, with the stupid ignorance, rivited vassalage and hopeless misery of the peasants

here, I almost lose the sensibility of pity in the glad reflection that I am a citizens of the United States.

Ruined temples, pyramids, and catacombs, monuments of the superstition, pride and folly of their founders, disgust my sight; for with their magnificence I cannot but couple the idea of the slaves who must have groaned under the oppressive folly of their fabrication.

Private Letter to Commodore Preble.

Egypt, Province of Behera, village of Demanhour, January 25th, 1805.

AFTER touching at Malta, the Argus arrived at Alexandria on the 26th November. Your letter to Governor Ball produced letters of introduction from him to the British resident at Cairo and Consul at Alexandria; and those Gentlemen have consequently rendered us every assistance which the nature of our affairs and their duty could require and admit. At Alexandria it was intimated to me that Hamet Bashaw was not to be had without application to Elfi Bey, to whom he had attached himself, both of whom were in upper Egypt, acting with the Mameluke Bey's against the Ottoman Government, and to whom access was barred by the Turkish army.

Under these discouraging circumstances, and contrary to the advice of every body on the sea coast, on the 30th November I left Alexandria, for Grand Cairo with three officers, Liutenant O'Bannon, Mr. Mann, and Mr. Danielson, and a few men from the Brig; who, together with some others recruited on the spot, and at Rosetta, made an escort of eighteen. This precaution was necessary on account of the banks of the Nile being infested by the wild Arabs of the desart and by straggling *Arnaut* deserters from the Grand Seignior's army: the former subsist by plunder; the latter rob and murder indiscriminately every defenceless being, whose ap-

pearance denotes property : both move in bodies and have rendered themselves terrible throughout Egypt. On the 8th Dec. we arrived, without accident, at Grand Cairo. There I found the Prime Minister and one of the confidential Governors of Hamet Bashaw, who confirmed the intimations I received at Alexandria, that the Bashaw was actually with the Mameluke Beys and considered as an enemy to the government of this country. I had already dispatched to him secret couriers from Alexandria and Rosetta, and now sent off a third and a fourth from the capital. But I had not yet had audience with the Vice Roy, and not knowing his accessible point, the difficulty I apprehended of getting the Bashaw out of the country exceeded that of access to him ; for I found it impossible to do it privately, and to attempt it might not only defeat our main object but endanger our own personal safety. Wherefore, at my first interview, finding the Vice Roy a man of much more frankness and liberality than generally falls to the character of a Turk, I unreservedly opened to him the object of my visit to his country, and received his proffer of friendly offices. This cleared a little my prospects while it created new embarrassments ; for the interferance, or even the amnesty, of the Vice Roy, in behalf of Hamet Bashaw, might excite the jealousy of the Mameluke Beys, and have the effect to bar his departure. But a new difficulty beset me which I little expected, and less from the quarter it came. The French Consul, a Piedmontese, at Alexandria, Mr. Drouette, had insinuated that we were *British spies in American masks ;* and that our pretext of friendship for Hamet Bashaw aimed at nothing but an intercourse with the Mamelukes, who are suspected of being in British subsidy ; of course an insinuation as injurious as it was malignant. I am yet totally at loss to account for this strange conduct of Mr. Drouette, as I am equally so at the indignity of our flag being refused, by that of the French throughout this country, those marks of

civility never refused to a foreign flag in ordinary cases, and which we received from every other nation represented here; except that, informed of our object, and pursuing the same line of conduct with his colleague at Tripoli, he thought by these means to defeat that object. I found means however, the means that move every thing in this quarter of the globe, to remove this difficulty; and finally obtained the Vice Roy's letter of amnesty and passport of safe conduct to Hamet Bashaw, which were dispatched to him on the 15th, in quadruplicates and by different conveyances. I now patiently waited the issue of measures thus far pursued. Mean time I busied myself in finding out the Tripolitan emigrants in this country; their attachments to the rival brothers and their feelings towards the Americans. Among these, one appeared who was only ninety days from Tripoli; an *Arnaut* Turk who had been in the service of Joseph Bashaw during the blockade of last summer, whom I had under particular examination. Supposing himself conversing with Englishmen, he was very unreserved in his confessions, and being decidedly in the interest of the enemy (he was enthusiastic in his cause though willing to dispense with his honors) his story deserves the more credit. He said, "*Tripoli had lost many men in the different attacks of the Americans last summer: the town was much damaged: and the inhabitants under such a state of consternation that no body slept in the city, and that no business was done there.* He confirmed the account of the fire ship, Infernal, being blown up by Capt. Somers, after having been boarded by two row gallies. Stating this fact the fellow wept. He observed that the war had been unfortunate to the cruizers. They had been led to believe that the Americans were all merchantmen, and that they should have nothing to do but to go out and bring them in: but they found them devils, from whom nothing was to be gained in war, and therefore he quitted the service of Joseph Bashaw. The Bashaw was never

theless determined not to make peace with these infidels until he shall have humbled them and made them pay for the damages they had done to his navy and city." He acknowledged that Hamet Bashaw had many friends in Tripoli ; but said, *Joseph Bashaw had taken care of him !* It is ascertained that the latter has employed assassins to poison the former. These undoubtedly have reported that they had executed their commission : and hence we account for the report of Hamet Bashaw's death.

On the 8th instant, I received from the Bashaw an answer to my letter from Cairo, dated the 28th, of the month Ramadam, corresponding with the 3d January, stating that he should that day depart for this province and take lodgings at the house of an Arab chief, by name *Ab'd'el gavir el be Kourchi*, where he should wait to meet me. But as my letters to him, dated after the Vice Roy's amnesty, all advised him to repair to the English house at Rosetta, under the guarantee of the Vice Roy's passport, and believing he might push his march thither, I left Cairo for that place on the 13th instant, and arrived in three days. Nothing additional appearing there, I proceeded to Alexandria on the 19th. On the 20th, received the Bashaw's answer to my letter of 28th November, of the same tenor with that I received from him at Cairo. It appeared that not confiding in the Vice Roy's dispositions concerning him, or perhaps not having received his letter of amnesty before leaving the Mameluke camp, the Bashaw had determined to expect an interview at the place he had first named near the lake Fiaum, on the border of the desert, about one hundred and ninety miles from the sea coast. Nothing can be more incredulous than a Turk of a Turk's honor ; and for a good reason : nothing can be more equivocal than their plighted faith.

Though travelling in the interior of this country has become unusually hazardous on account of the jealousy of the Turkish chief ; of the reins given to

licentiousness by the barbarity of civil war; and of the strong grounds the wild Arabs hold by reason of all restraint being relaxed on the part of the Turks and Mamelukes who are too seriously occupied with each other; I determined to attempt a passage to Fiaum. Accordingly, on the 22d instant, I left Alexandria with two officers from the Argus, Lieutenant Blake and Mr. Mann, and an escort of 23 men indifferently mounted, and on the evening of the 23d, found myself arrested at the Turkish lines, between seventy and eighty miles on my rout, by the Kerchief of Damanhour, commanding a detachment of about five hundred Ottoman troops on the frontier. No argument I could devise could at all mollify the severity of his first resolution, *not to let me pass his lines*, though in every thing else he treated us with distinction and great hospitality. However mortifying the confession, I cannot but applaud the correct military conduct of this chief; for it was, in itself, a suspicious circumstance, that a body of armed, unknown foreigners, should be found shaping a course for his enemy's rendesvous, with no other pretext than to *search for a Refugee Bashaw!* But this suspicious circumstance was strengthened and aggravated by the insinuation gone out from the French Consul, that *we came into this country with secret views hostile to the Turks.* Our situation here was somewhat perplexing, and vastly unpleasant. I do not recollect ever having found myself on a ground more critical. To the natural jealousy of a Turk this General added a fierce and savage temper; of course proud and vain. Here was my point of approach. I passed high compliments on the correctness of his military conduct and vigilance. Said it was what I apprehended; and what I certainly would have done myself in similar circumstances. But knowing from character the magnanimity of his soul, I was determined to have an interview with him, in full confidence that he would aid a measure so purely humane, and so manifestly favorable to the

Turkish interest in Egypt, in case he could not permit me to pursue my object personally. At the same time, recurring to the example of the Vice Roy, whose letter I had showed him, and signifying that I had it in charge to tender him a douceur in testimony of our exalted opinion of his name and merit: he was moved: said my confidence should not be disappointed; and called into his tent a chief of the Arab tribes called *Ou ad Allis*, a wandering host who have from time to time been driven or emigrated from the kingdom of Tripoli since the usurpation of Joseph Bashaw, to whom he stated my business, and asked if he could give any account of Hamet Bashaw. The young chief, in an extacy, exclaimed that he *knew every thing!* I requested him to declare himself: for I had no secret in my relation with that Bashaw.

You have, Sir, already anticipated his story in the statement I have given of the Bashaw's actual position. He added that twenty thousand men, Barbary Arabs, were ready to march with him from this border to recover their native country and inheritance: repeated that *he knew our plan;* and, now that he had seen me, he would pledge his head to the Turkish General to bring me Hamet Bashaw in ten days. The Turk accordingly dispatched him the next morning on this message.

I could yet perceive some symptoms of suspicion and apprehension on the brow of my newly acquired and military friend. Wherefore, without seeming to have any other view than a solicitude to meet the man I sought, but really with a view of removing his suspicions, I proposed to him to return to his head quarters, this village; send off my escort to Alexandria; and to wait myself, with only the Gentlemen in company and our servants, until our Arab chief should return from Fiaum with the Bashaw. This proposal had its desired effect. We left him and retired to a handsome pavillion prepared for the purpose; took refreshments he had ordered to be in

readiness ; and the next morning returned, with an additional escort from his camp, to this place ; where we found handsome lodgings in Turkish stile prepared for us.

Thus far I have sketched an abstract of my journal since we parted. Do you expect something of *Egypt* ; its antiquities ; curiosities ; its wonders? You must be disappointed. I am too much occupied with modern affairs to ransack catacombs or climb pyramids ; for the same reason I have not time to gratify curiosity ; and as to *wonders* can only notice what I cannot help being impressed with, the *wonderful ignorance, wonderful stupidity, wonderful tyranny* and *wonderful wretchedness* which so strongly mark the features of a country once the wonder of the world for science, wisdom, wholesome police and rational happiness. Here is matter for a volume. I can only devote six lines to the subject. Not a man reads here ; yet none but thinks himself divinely taught. The Kerchief of whom I have spoke above, in a little excursion to gather *contribution*, has cut off between fifty and sixty peasant's heads for no other crime than *poverty*. And just without the eastern gate of this village a gallows is now erecting to hang a child of twelve years, the only son of a chief of the village Rahmania, because his father cannot pay the contribution levied on him ! GOD ! I thank thee that my children are Americans !

January 31*st*. Since I began this letter circumstances have accumulated to render our situation more aukward, and I may well say ridiculous. The next day after entering the house, where we quarter, a markee was raised upon the terrace of an adjoining house, and a Turkish guard mounted there under pretext of *fresh air*. Armed Turks were sent into the house to remain with us, for the purpose of accompanying us as a *life guard* in our walks : and a sentinel was placed at our door in the lower court to *prevent intruders*. Though these arrangements

were vastly polite I should have been very willing to have dispensed with them. That gallows has not appeared so *childish* a thing of late ! Yet, by appearing frank and easy with the Turkish general, his suspicions seem to have subsided. I receive all these evidences of vigilance as marks of attention ; thank him for his civilities ; and assure him that I shall be careful to make suitable mention of them to the President, my master. By this kind of adulation yesterday I so much drew him from his guard, that he opened his heart and unequivocally confessed that, " in the present convulsive state of this country the Turks ought to suspect every body, especially the English : but they had peculiar reasons for suspecting us, as the French Consul had declared us *British spies !*" What does not that savage merit for this wanton and base manner of exposing our lives to the infamy of a gibbet ! I hope not to meet him at Alexandria.

Feb. 16*th*, at Alexandria. We arrived with the Bashaw and Suit at the English cut between Aboukir bay and lake Mœriotis, a week ago last Wednesday. There we had new difficulties to encounter. The French Consul had been before hand of me in gaining the Admiral of this port and Governor of the city ; and they, consequently, came to a resolution not to permit the Bashaw to enter the city, nor to embark. Argument was useless ; for we were too late in the application of it.

The Bashaw had before come to a resolution to march by land to Derne and Bengazi : and he now moved round the lake to form his camp at Arab's Tower, about thirty miles west of the old port of Alexandria. In the mean time I stated to the Vice Roy the contempt his letter of amnesty suffered from his subalterns in this place. In consequence of which he addressed a *firman* by a *Chaux* to the Governor, commanding immediate compliance with the intention of his letter of amnesty, and imposing a fine on him of twenty five thousand piasters. This

gives us a final triumph in Egypt ; though I confess, I could have wished the Vice Roy's resentment had not fallen so heavily on his disobedient Governor. I do not think it prudent to advise the Bashaw to enter the city, least vengeance should retaliate on him the chastisement he has brought upon his Turkish brother of this place. We shall therefore take up our line of march through the desart of Lybia towards Derne next Wednesday.

Our party consists of five hundred men. One hundred of whom are Christians recruited on the spot, and employed in our service. We shall make a stand at Bomba, and wait the return of Capt. Hull with supplies and reinforcements to seize the provinces of Derne and Bengazi, for which purpose he sails for the rendezvous day after tomorrow.

Here is a ketch from Tripoli ; sent up by the enemy with an envoy to prevent Hamet Bashaw being permitted to leave Egypt. But, not having with him the only agent which carries all causes here, the poor devil must go back in season only to give Joseph Bashaw imformation of the fate that awaits him. If our measures are supported he must fly his kingdom or die.

How glorious would be the exhibition to see our fellow citizens in captivity in Tripoli march in triumph from a dungeon to their Tyrant's palace, and display the flag of the United States.

I have the honor to be,
most respectfully and with
cordial attachment,
Dear Sir,
your obliged and obedient servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

Commodore PREBLE.

To Capt. Isaac Hull, of the Argus.

Demanhour, Saturday Feb. 2d, 1805.

Sir,

LAST evening I received advice from Doctor Mendrici at Rosetta, that two of Hamet Bashaw's miniters, his Secretary of state and Governor of police, have arrived thither from Grand Cairo. I dispatched the courier in return and requested them to proceed to Alexandria, and place themselves under your protection. They will probably be on board of you Monday evening if not sooner. Mr. O'Bannon will recognize them. To day we expect the arrival of Hamet. Possibly he may be delayed a day or two longer. At all events you may expect us Wednesday evening or Thursday morning. Every thing is tranquil with us. It will be so with you when the truth of facts shall have dispelled the mist of misrepresentation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM EATON.

Capt. Hull.

To the same.

Demanhour, Feb. 4th, 1805.

Dear Sir,

BY express of the 2d, I stated to you my arrangements concerning the two Ministers of Hamet Bashaw at Rosetta.

Although I have not yet received an answer to my letter from this place by the Arab chief, I am assured in positive terms by the Kerchief of this village that an answer cannot be delayed more than two days longer. It would seem hardly possible that the Bashaw would loose this opportunity of an interview, but should it so happen, and my messenger returns without him, I am entirely with you in opinion of the Brig's returning with you to the rendes-

vous. I have anticipated your ideas concerning the impropriety of the Bashaw's approaching the Turkish frontiers with a force, and have given instructions to my messenger to signify to him that he can advance with his *suit only*, which are not to consist of more than eight men : am not confident he will yield to these terms, for it appears his jealousy and suspicion, with those of his Turkish brethren are reciprocal. * * * * * * *

3 o'clock P. M. I had just turned this period in answer to your last, when a messenger from Hamet Bashaw entered my apartment, and, to convince me that he was not an imposter, he put into my hands my first letter to the Bashaw from Alexandria of 30th November. This was a fortunate occurrence, because it assured the Bashaw of our high respect for the Grand Seignior ; and cautioned him against any steps which might go to compromit our good intelligence with that Sovereign : and it having an Arabac translation on the back, I went with it to the Kerchief, who by the bye, is a fierce savage Turk, but a good General. This at once did away all suspicions. He took me by the hand for the first time, complimented my candour, and invited me to ride out, and dine with him at his Camp. This messenger was followed by several Arabs, who had kept in the back ground till they should know whether they might enter with safety, accompanied by the two Maltese, whom I dispatched secretly from Cairo. One of the Arabs is a servant of the Bashaw, and accompanied him on his rout towards this place, as far as Ferene. He will be in Demanhour tomorrow, and Wednesday morning we shall set off for Alexandria. The Bashaw has only his suit with him, consisting of about forty persons, which gives no uneasiness to the Kerchief ; on the contrary he has voluntarily offered us an escort to secure our passage to Alexandria, and will go out himself with me tomorrow to accompany our friend into Demanhour.

EXTRACTS; TO MR. SMITH, SECRETARY of the NAVY.

Alexandria, February 13th, 1805.

WE left Demanhour last Thursday and arrived at the English Cut, between Aboukir Bay and lake Mœriotis, the day following; where we were arrested by a Turkish Guard, and forbid to enter the City. This comes from the French Consul. He had been before me in gaining the Turkish Admiral: (there is but one way of access to these people:) who, considering himself chiefly charged with the safety of the city and harbor, and not admitting the jurisdiction of the Vice Roy to extend beyond low water mark, absolutely refused admission into the city to Hamet Bashaw, or permission to us to embark him at this place. The French Consul excuses himself for this intrigue, by saying his zeal for the interest of the Emperor, will justify his conduct and save him from reproach.

This goes in support of an opinion Commodore Preble had formed from his intercourse with the French Consul of Tripoli, that "the intervention of the Emperor in our behalf, covers a design; or that his agents on this coast have used an unwarrantable discretion". But this impediment does not stop our progress. The Bashaw had already determined to take the desert of Lybia to Derne; giving for his reason, which I think a sound one, that by taking shipping and separating himself from the Arabs, they would lose patience if not confidence also, and abandon his cause. He has consequently moved round the lake; and will tomorrow take his station at Arab's Tour, thirty miles westward of the old post of Alexandria; where I am to join him with a detachment from the city next Sunday, and proceed with him to Bomba at the head of five hundred men, and there take post. Mean time Capt. Hull repairs to the rendesvous for suitable reinforcements and

supplies, to secure an establishment at Derne and Bengazi. Those provinces in our possession will cut off from the enemy and turn into our own channel, a source of provisions; and will open a free intercourse with the interior of the country. I have requested of the Commodore for this purpose, an hundred stands of arms, with cartridges, and two fieldpieces with trains and ammunition; and also a detachment of one hundred marines, if necessary, to lead a *coup de main*. I calculate the whole expenditure of cash in this expedition, including expences of Egypt, will amount to twenty thousand dollars. Further disbursments and supplies will be necessary to carry this plan into final effect. But, to indemnify the United States, I have entered into a convention with Hamet Bashaw to pledge the tribute of Sweden, Denmark and the Batavian Republic, which convention, I shall reduce to writing, and forward by Capt. Hull if time permit; otherwise by the earliest occasion.

CONVENTION,

BETWEEN the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, and his *Highness*, HAMET CARAMANLY, BASHAW of TRIPOLI.

GOD IS INFINITE.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace, and free intercourse, between the government of the United States of America and his Highness, Hamet Caramanly, Bashaw, the legitimate Sovereign of the kingdom of Tripoli, and between the citizens of the one, and the subjects of the other.

ART. II. The government of the United States shall use their utmost exertions, so far as comports with their own honor, and interest, their subsisting treaties, and the acknowledged law of nations, to reestablish the said Hamet Bashaw in the possession

of his sovereignty of Tripoli, against the pretensions of Joseph Bashaw, who obtained said sovereignty by treason, and who now holds it by usurpation. And who is engaged in actual war against the United States.

Art. III. The United States shall, as circumstances may require, in addition to the operations they are carrying on by sea, furnish to said Hamet Bashaw, on loan, supplies of cash, ammunition and provisions; and, if necessity require, debarkations of troops also, to aid, and give effect to the operations of said Hamet Bashaw, by land, against the common enemy.

Art. IV. In consideration of which friendly offices, once rendered effectual, his Highness, Hamet Caramanly, Bashaw, engages, on his part, to release to the Commander in chief of the forces of the United States in the Mediterranean without ransom, all American prisoners who are, or may hereafter be, in the hands of the usurper, said Joseph Bashaw.

Art. V. In order to indemnify the United States against all expence they have or shall incur in carrying into execution their engagements expressed in the second and third article of this convention, the said Hamet Bashaw transfers, and consigns, to the United States, the tribute, stipulated by the last treaties, of his Majesty the King of Denmark, his Majesty the King of Sweden, and the Batavian Republic, as the condition of peace with the Regency of Tripoli, until such time as said expence shall be reimbursed.

Art. VI. In order to carry into full effect the stipulation expressed in the preceding article, said Hamet Bashaw, pledges his faith and honor, faithfully to observe, and fulfil, the treaties now subsisting between the Regency of Tripoli and their Majesties the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and with the Batavian Republic.

Art. VII. In consideration of the friendly dispositions of his Majesty the King of the two Sicilies

towards the American Squadrons, his Highness Hamet Bashaw invites his said Sicilian Majesty to renew their ancient friendship : and proffers him a peace on the footing of that to be definatively concluded with the United States of America, in the fullest extent of its privileges, according to the tenor of this convention.

ART. VIII. The better to give effect to the operations to be carried on by land, in the prosecution of the plan, and the attainment of the object pointed out by this convention, WILLIAM EATON, a citizen of the United States, now in Egypt, shall be recognized as General and Commander in chief of the land forces, which are, or may be, called into service against the common enemy, and his said Highness Hamet Bashaw, engages that his own Subjects shall respect, and obey him as such.

ART. IX. His Highness, said Hamet Bashaw, grants full amnesty, and perpetual oblivion towards the conduct of all such of his subjects as may have been seduced by the Usurper, to abandon his cause, and who are disposed, to return to their proper allegiance.

ART. X. In case of future war between the contracting parties, captives on each side shall be treated as prisoners of war, and not as slaves, and shall be entitled to reciprocal and equal exchange, man for man, and grade for grade, and in no case, shall a ransom be demanded for prisoners of war, nor a tribute required, as the condition of peace, neither on the one part nor the other. All prisoners on both sides, shall be given up at the conclusion of peace.

ART. XI. The American Consular Flag in Tripoli shall forever be a sacred asylum to all persons who shall desire to take refuge under it, except for the crimes of treason and murder.

ART. XII. In case of the faithful observance and fulfilment on the part of his Highness, said Hamet Bashaw, of the agreements and obligations herein

stipulated, the said Commander in chief of the American forces in the Mediterranean, engages to leave said Hamet Bashaw, in the peacable possession of the city and Regency of Tripoli, without dismantling its batteries.

ART. XIII. Any article suitable to be introduced in a definative treaty of peace between the contracting parties, which may not be comprised in this convention, shall be reciprocally on the footing of the treaties subsisting with the most favored nations.

ART. XIV. This convention shall be submitted to the President of the United States for his ratification: in the mean time there shall be no suspence in its operations.

Done at Alexandria in Egypt, February 23d, 1805, and signed by said Hamet Bashaw, for himself and successors, and by WILLIAM EATON, *on the part of the United States.*

(L. S.)

WILLIAM EATON.

(Arabic signature and seal of Hamet.)

In prsence of

P. N. O'BANNON, *Lieut. of Marines,*
DR. FRANCISCO MENDRICI,
PASCAL PAOLI PECK.

Additional Article, secret.

His Highnes, Hamet Bashaw will use his utmost exertions to cause to surrender to the Commander in chief of the American forces in the Mediterranean, the Usurper Joseph Bashaw, together with his family and chief admiral called Maurad Raiz, Alias, Peter Lisle, to be held by the Government of the United States as hostages, and as a guarantee of the faithful observance of the stipulations entered into by convention of the 23d February 1805, with the United States, provided they do not escape by *flight*.

WILLIAM EATON.

(Arabic signature and seal of Hamet.)

Witness,

P. N. O'Bannon, *Lieut. of Marines,*
Dr. Francisco Mendrici,
Pascal Paoli Peck.

From the Journal.

March 2d, 1805.

OUR provisions, which were embarked on board a Nile boat to be transported to the Marabout were arrested in the new port of Alexandria. The lines which defend the city were manned, and orders given that no one, American officers excepted, should depart. The Bashaw's servants, who were leaving town with sundry articles of baggage, were arrested and imprisoned. Turkish guards and patroles advanced towards the Bashaw's camp. He was alarmed, and with his people, was on the point of flying to the desert. The firm and decided conduct of Mr. O'Bannon prevented their movement. We found the impediments raised to us were occasioned by the influence of the supervisor of the revenue, who had not yet been bought. The day was spent in accommodating the affair. The influence of the British Consul prevailed; and we obtained

the order of the Governor and Capt. Bey for free passage.

Sunday, March 3d. Left Alexandria, and joined Hamet Bashaw, at the Marabout. We had been several days delayed by the delinquency of Richard Farquhar, to whom I had intrusted the commissary's and quartermaster's department, and to whom from time to time I advanced a sum of $1350, which he chiefly embezzled or misapplied. In consequence of which I discharged him; and was obliged to make myself the provisions for our passage through the desert.

March 4th. Messrs. Briggs, brothers, and Doctor Mendrici visited camp. Witnessed the convention concluded with Hamet Bashaw, on the 23d February. Liquidated the account of monies they had advanced for the service of the United States, and took leave. Their whole amount of advances $16,500. Balance due them $12,500. Paid by Capt. Hull $4000.

March 5th. Freighted a caravan of 190 camels, as I supposed for the passage, at $11 per head. The Chiek il Taiib raised fresh demands for cash; and seemed determined to retard the march until his pretensions were satisfied. Pacified him with promises.

March 6th. Broke up camp and marched to Arab's tower, forty miles from Alexandria, leaving part of our baggage behind. This tower is an immense ruin of regular fortification, of freestone, about three hundred feet square, the walls five feet thick and thirty two high, with bastions at the angles, and battlements on the curtains. In its vicinity are catacombs and other excavations in the ridge of a freestone mountain upon which it stands, and which divides the sea shore from the barren plains in the rear. From Alexandria to this post is a desert. The tower is not Arabian architecture but Greek.

March 7th. The rear of our baggage came up.

March 8th. Arranged our caravan and organised our force ; which now consisted of nine Americans, including Lieut. O'Bannon and Mr. Peck, a non-commissioned officer and six private marines ; a company of twenty five cannoniers, commanded by Selim Comb, and Lieut. Comant and Roco, and a company of thirty eight Greeks, commanded by Capt. Luco Ulovix and Lieut. Constantine. The Bashaw's suit consisted of about ninety men, including those who came from Fiaume and those who joined him since his arrival at Alexandria. These, together with a party of Arab cavalry under the orders of the Cheiks *il Taiib*, and Mahamet, and including the footmen and camel drivers, made our whole number about four hundred. Our caravan consisted of one hundred and seven camels and a few asses.

Marched at 11, A. M. fifteen miles. Camped on an elevated bluff upon the sea board. Good water near the shore.

March 9th. Remained in camp, some difficulties with the owners of the camels and horses hired for the passage. They demanded advanced pay. It was not safe to do it. They became mutinous.

March 10th. The camel drivers and footmen who followed the horses revolted and made a stand. The Chiek il Taiib had insinuated a suspicion among them that if they performed their services before being paid, the Christians would be apt to defraud them. The Bashaw seemed irresolute and dispondent. Money, more money was the only stimulous which could give motion to the camp. The forenoon was consumed, and no appearances of a disposition to proceed ahead. I ordered the Christians under arms and feinted a countermarch ; threatening to abandon the expedition and their Bashaw, unless the march in advance proceeded immediately. This project took effect ; the mutiny was suppressed : and we marched twelve miles.

March 11th. Marched twenty miles.

March 12th. Marched twenty one miles.

March 13th. Marched twenty five miles. These three days we have passed low sand vallies and rocky, desert plains. Few vestages of ruins except a castle fifty miles from Arab's tower, which has all the appearance of Grecian architecture. About 2 o'clock, P. M. this day, a courier met the Bashaw, from Derne; informed him that the province was armed in his defence, and the Governor shut within the walls of his castle, (which we afterwards found to be false.) In consequence of this good news feats of horsemanship and a feude joie were exhibited in front of the Bashaw, by his people. Our foot Arabs, who were in the rear with the baggage, hearing the firing, and apprehending that we were attacked by the wild Arabs of the desert, attempted to disarm and put to death the Christians who escorted the caravan. They were prevented by an Arab of some consideration among them, who insisted that prudence dictated they should suspend their execution till the cause of the firing should be known. At this camping ground, on the seaboard, are numerous wells of great depth cut through solid rock, and producing water of a pretty good quality. A little to the westward is a handsome bay about twenty miles deep and fifteen broad.

March 14th. Marched twenty six miles, over a barren rocky plain. Passed some vestages of ancient fortifications: raised and encamped upon the dividing ridge between Egypt and Tripoli, near a cistern of excellent water. The scite of the ridge a vast plain, barren of vegetation.

March 15th. Marched twenty five miles: camped in a ravine, at the head of which we found rain water, preserved in natural reservoirs excavated in the rocks by the cascades of water during the winter rains.

The night was cold and rainy. A musket, bayonet, cartouch box, and cartridges, stolen by the Arabs from the marine tent, and all our provisions of cheese from the magazine. We had heretofore ex-

perienced daily losses of provisions and barley, which they stole and concealed.

March 16th. Bold, high winds from W. N. W. heavy thunder and incessant rain. Remained in camp. At 3, P. M. our camp inundated. Moved to high ground. At the foot of this ravine is an extensive bay of the sea.

March 17th. Morning rainy. Our Arabs refused to proceed farther without money. Reconciled them with promises. Marched twelve miles—camped in a deep ravine : some small brush and good rain water.

March 18th. Marched fifteen miles to a castle called by the Arabs Masroscah : an extensive plain valley, surrounded in the rear and flanks by a stony desert, and in front by white sand drifts of great height, which cuts the view from the sea. In this valley are four vestages of ancient fabrications, gardens, mansion and pleasure houses, evidence of former cultivation and improvement, of which the place is very susceptible ; though now all lies buried in ruins, except some miserable patches of badly cultivated wheat and barley. Here was a Chiek, who held the castle, and a few Arab families in tents. The modern castle is a square of about one hundred and fifty feet, built of rough stone, about eleven feet high, without bastions or battlements ; but with loop holes. It is the deposit of the produce and traffic of the place. Cattle, sheep, goats, fowls, butter in skins, dates and milk, were found and offered for sale ; but very dear.

I now learned, for the first time, that our caravan was freighted by the Bashaw only to this place, and that the owners had received no part of their pay. No persuasion could prevail on them to proceed to Bomba, nor to wait our arrival thither for their pay. They alledged that they had fulfiled their engagement with the Bashaw, and would now return to their families in Behara, for whose safety they had

serious apprehensions from the Kerchief of Demanhour. The Chiek il Taiib favored their pretensions.

I promised to procure the cash for their payment on condition that they would proceed two days further, where we expected to find Arab tribes and hire another caravan. This they engaged to do. I reduced my stock of cash to three Venitian sequins, and, with a hundred and forty dollars borrowed of the Christian officers and men, passed into the hands of the Bashaw, *six hundred and seventy three dollars*; which sum, together with what he raised among his own people, enabled him to meet the claims of these chiefs of the caravan.

March 19th. The Bashaw paid off his caravan, who promised to proceed two days march ahead. But, the same night, all except forty of them drew off for Egypt; and the others refused to proceed, leaving us in a perplexed and embarrassed situation; as it was impossible to move without the caravan, and uncertain whether we could procure them to start from this place. The Bashaw proposed depositing our baggage in the castle and proceeding forward to the camp of sundry tribes, who expected him, two or three days march ahead. This I rejected; being now destitute of cash, to proceed without provisions would be throwing too much on contingency.

March 20th. Last night the rest of the camels left us, to return to Egypt. I now discovered a complot between the Chiek il Taiib and sundry other chiefs, at which I thought the Bashaw connived, purporting a resolution to proceed no further until they should have assurance of the arrival of our vessels at Bomba. A report had been started, said to be brought by a pilgrim on his way from Morocco to Mecca, that a force consisting of eight hundred cavalry and numerous foot were on their march from Tripoli for the defence of Derne, and were actually passed Bengazi. I thought this an argument that urged acceleration rather than delay. A great deal of noise and some counsel were heard among the Bey's chiefs, in

which I was not consulted, and a final resolution taken that they would remain on the spot till a runner could go to Bomba and return. In consequence of which I ordered their rations stopped, and resolved myself to take possession of the castle and fortify myself there until I could get intelligence to our naval detachment to come to our relief, when I would take off our Christians and leave them to take measures for their own subsistence and safety. It was now twelve o'clock at night. I left the Arab chiefs in the Bashaw's tent, confused and embarrassed, and retired to my own markee and reflections.

We have marched a distance of two hundred miles, through an inhospitable waste of world without seeing the habitation of an animated being, or the tracks of man, except where superstition has marked her lonely steps over burning sands and rocky mountains, whence the revelation of one of her most hypocritical fanatics trains her wretched victims a tedious pilgrimage to pay their devotion at his shrine. But while we reproach the impostor we cannot but ascribe some good to the effect of the imposition: it has here and there opened a water source to its votaries, which now allays the thirst of pilgrims, bound across this gloomy desert on pursuits vastly different from those which lead to Mecca; the liberation of three hundred Americans from the chains of Barbarism, and a manly peace.

March 21st. The position taken yesterday had its effect. Fifty camels were prevailed on to return to us, and to go on two days further. We marched at 11, A. M. and proceeded to an elevated stony plain barren, about 13 miles, where we found good cistern water.

March 22d. Marched 12 1-2 miles. At 3, P. M. arrived at an extensive inclined plain, bordering on the sea, called in Arabic *Oak korar ke barre*, amidst camps of numerous Arabs, consisting of three tribes of the *Eu ed alli* race, supposed to amount to the number of 3 or 4,000 souls, inclusively, cover-

ing a ground in a detached manner of 19 or 20 leagues circumference. Here were vast herds of camels, horses and cattle and innumerable flocks of sheep and goats. We were the first Christians ever seen by these wild people. We were viewed by them as curiosities. They laughed at the oddity of our dress; gazed at our polished arms with astonishment: at the same time they observed the greatest deference towards such of us as bore any distinctive marks of office. They brought us for sale every thing their camps afforded, and as rarities offered us young gazels and ostriches. But being destitute of cash, we could only exchange our rice for their produce. We found dates here, which were brought five days journey from the interior of Africa, of an excellent quality. All our grain (barley and beans) for the horses exhausted. Dispatched a courier with letters to Capt. Hull at Bomba.

March 23d. Continued in camp. Eighty mounted warriors joined the Bashaw: all appear attached to him; but we want the means to engage their services. Cash, we find, is the only deity of Arabs, as well as Turks. Good feed for our horses: rain water in great abundance, preserved in cavities of rocks worn by torrents of water descending from the high grounds in our rear. But our provision is reduced to hard bread and rice. From Alexandria to this place there is not a living stream, nor rivulet, nor spring of water.

March 24th. Remained in camp. Freighted a caravan of 90 camels at $11 per head, to Bomba.

March 25th. Forty seven tents of Arabs joined us with their families and moveables. In this detachment are one hundred and fifty warriors on foot. The Arabs of this place have never seen bread. On first offering them biscuit, they examined it carefully; and, breaking it with their shepherds club or hatchet, tasted it with symtoms of hesitation; finding it palatable they sought every means to obtain it from us. They are peculiarly fond of rice. A wo-

man offered her daughter to my interpreter for a sack of it : and the girl consented to the traffic. She was a well proportioned, handsome brunette of about thirteen or fourteen years, with an expressive hazel eye, inclining to black, arched eye brows, perfect teeth, and lips formed for voluptuousness. A bargain would have been concluded if my consent could have been accorded ; prudence forbid it. The Arabs of the desert are generally well built, are active, but timid, jealous and thievish.

March 26th. A courier from Derne, in the interest of the Bashaw, brings intelligence that five hundred of Joseph Bashaw's cavalry, accompanied by great numbers of Arabs, both horse and foot, were a few days march from that place, and would certainly arrive before it would be possible that we could. The alarm excited by this information arrested our motions. The Bashaw seemed to hesitate whether to proceed farther. The camel drivers fled with their caravan : and there seemed to be a combination among the Bashaw's people and the Arabs of Behara to return to Fiaum. I again suspended their rations ; forbidding any more issues till the caravan should return and the march proceed ahead. A council was held : despondency sat in every countenance. About eleven, A. M. I learned that the Chiek il Taiib had resolved to proceed no farther until certain intelligence arrive of our vessels being at Bomba. I could not but reproach that chief with want of courage and fidelity. He had promised much and fulfiled nothing. I regretted having been made acquainted with him ; and should be well satisfied if he would put his menace in execution of returning to Egypt, provided he would not interfere with the dispositions of other chiefs. He quit the camp in a rage, swearing by all the force of his religion to join us no more. The Bashaw would have sent an officer to pacify and bring him back. I objected. And he took himself off with a small detachment of his tribe.

March 27th. The Chiek il Taiib excited an insurrection among the Arabs of this place who had engaged to proceed with us; drew off half their number; and, putting himself at their head, started for Egypt. The Bashaw sent a messenger to me praying that I would dispatch an officer to request him in my name to return. I answered that no consideration whatever could prevail on me to ask as a favor what I claimed as a right. The services of that chief were due to us: we had paid for them; and he had pledged his faith to render them with fidelity. It did not belong to him, at this period, to make terms nor dictate measures: I should not debase myself to propose an accommodation. The Bashaw was apprehensive that he would turn his influence and take a part against us. *Let him do it. I like an open enemy better than a treacherous friend. When he shall have taken this ground it will, perhaps, give me an opportunity to punish eventually what I would do summarily if the respect I had for his Excellency did not prevent it. I had a rifle and a sabre true to their distance.* Carry the message to the chief. He was mad with rage; and swore vengeance against the Bashaw, and his Christian sovereigns, as he stiled us. I ordered a march. We got under way at half past 7, A. M. At 10, a messenger came from the Chiek to assure us that he had taken up his march for Behara.

Since he has taken that rout, I have nothing further with him but to take steps for the recovery of the cash and property he has fraudulently drawn from me. Continued the march. At 12 o'clock another messenger. "The Chiek il Taiib will join if the camp halt seasonably." The Bashaw desired, and we halted at half past 12. About an hour and half after, the Chiek hove in sight with his party: soon after came up; and, presenting himself at my markee, with visible chagrin in his countenance, said, "you see the influence I have among these people!"

Yes, and I see also the disgraceful use you make of it. We gained about five miles to day.

March 28th. I perceived a manifest reluctance in the Bashaw to advance, and evident calculations for a retrograde march. Joseph Bashaw's forces had seized on all his nerves. He now took from my officers the horses he had given them for the passage through the desert, and gave them to some of his footmen. Drew off his Mahometans, and stood balancing, after the troops were drawn up for the march. I reproached him with indecision, want of perseverance, and of consistency in arrangement. I demanded the horses for my officers. High words ensued. I ordered the march in front. The Bashaw retrograded. We proceeded in front with the baggage. The Bashaw came up in about two hours; and, making us some compliments for our firmness, said, he was obliged to dissemble an acquiescence in the wishes of his people to render them manageable. We proceeded 12 and an half miles to a castle *Shemees,* and camped at one o'clock, P. M. In the evening, discovered that the Arabs who had joined us on the 25th, and who, as we expected were following us, had all taken up their march for the borders of Egypt. The Chiek il Taiib had discouraged and dissuaded them from pursuing the expedition. The Bashaw sent off a General officer with sundry horsemen to bring them back by persuasion.

Hamet Gurgies, the officer who went for the Arabs, did not return this day.

March 29th. Remained in camp, waiting for Hamet Gurgies. At this castle, which is a rough stone wall, laid in clay mortar, about ten feet high, without bastions, and one hundred feet square, there seems to be some trade with the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. We find here, cattle, sheep, butter, fowls, eggs, and dates, but very dear; and for which we bartered rice at great disadvantage. The situation is enchanting; vast plains, capable of high cultivation; good well water; and some en-

closed gardens of fig and palm trees. But every thing bears the ruinous aspect of ravage and war. About four, P. M. Hamet Gurgies came up with the Arabs who separated themselves from us on the 27th.

March 30th. At 6, A. M. resumed our march with the Christians and baggage, leaving the Bashaw to follow with his Arabs, who were mounted for the purpose. At this instant a dispute arose between the Chiek il Taiib and Chaik Mahamet concerning the distribution of $ 1500; which the former had received of the Bashaw to be equally distributed; a part of which he had concealed; and grew so warm that Mahamet swore he would proceed no farther. Three other Chaiks and several other considerable Arabs took part with him, and retrograded. The Bashaw in vain endeavored to reconcile the parties. Chaik Mahamet persisted in quitting the expedition; and with his party moved rapidly off. The Bashaw left them, and hastily pursued us, with a view of arresting our march, having sent back Hamet Gurgies and two other officers to endeavor to recover the malcontents. We had gained fifteen miles ahead when he came up with us at 2 o'clock, P. M. But it was necessary to retrograde three miles to water, and there camp. The expedition could not proceed without those chiefs, as they had many people and powerful influence with the *Eu ed alli* tribe near Derne, to which they belong.

Pitched our camp at 5, P. M.

The Bashaw with twelve horsemen and my interpreter returned to the castle in hopes of reconciling the Chieks and of bringing up their party. This will detain us tomorrow. From Alexandria to this place, we have experienced continual altercations, contentions and delays among the Arabs. They have no sense of patriotism, truth nor honor; and no attachment where they have no prospect of gain, except to their religion, to which they are enthusiasts. Poverty makes them thieves, and practice renders

them adroit in stealing. The instant the eye of vigilance is turned from an object on which they have fixed a desire, it is no more to be found. Arms, ammunition and provisions, most engage their furtive speculations ; but sundry of our people have been robbed of their cloaths and other articles. With all their depravity of morals they possess a savage independence of soul, an incorrigible obstinacy to discipline, a sacred adherence to the laws of hospitality, and a scrupulous pertinacity to their religious faith and ceremonies. Day before yesterday I was admitted, as a mark of special distinction, within the walls of their castle. Curiosity brought every Arab about me who belonged to the tribe. They examined the lace of my hat, epaulettes, buttons, spurs, and mounting of my arms. These they took to be all gold and silver. They were astonished *that God should permit people to possess such riches who followed the religion of the devil !*

My interpreter explained that the religion of the Americans was different from that of all other nations who wore *hats ;* (the *hat* and *turban* are distinguishing marks of *Christian* and *Turk* :) that we believed in God and respected all his revelations ; that we made no distinction in our respect to people of different creeds ; all were free with us to worship God as their consciences dictated ; and that all honest men were equally respected in America. They could hardly comprehend this description of Christians any where existed. He added that I was a good man, and a great friend to Mussulmen. They had heard so. Hamet Bashaw's people had told them every thing that I had done for them. They lamented that so good a man should go to hell. While I continued an infidel I must expect to be damned. I should escape hell and go to the paradise of Mahomet if I would only repeat one word after them, *Allah Allah Mahammed Benallah,* which they repeatedly pronounced, and desired, by the esteem they felt for me, that I would repeat after them. I answered, that in A-

merica, we made no account of a religion which consisted only in *words*. God had promised us a heaven distinct from that of Papists and Mussulmen, where we should admit all good men who should choose to come over to us, and be permitted ourselves at discretion to make parties of pleasure into the paradise of Mahomet and the heaven of the Papists. They doubted my story. I told them I had assurances myself of being well received and civilly treated by those opposite prophets, as I had very many friends among the followers of both. They smiled at this idea ; but confessed they should be very glad to see me in their paradise ; though they doubted whether Mahomet would permit me to come there, even on a visit, unless I confessed him and became a true believer.

A good Christian would have given me the same admonition. How frail is human reason ! How absurd is the pride of bigotry ! Yet how happy are these ignorant Arabs in their faith and intolerance ! A desert their patrimony ; a wretched hut their dwelling ; a blanket their bed and wardrobe ; a a wooden bowl and spoon their furniture ; and milk and roots their food. Like the patriarchs of old, they " Seek a country." Their hope is in heaven. Of arriving there they have the faith of assurance. They are contented.

The climate of the desert is pure and healthful. Though placed under an arid sun, it has a constant refreshing sea breeze by day and land breeze by night. No frosts, and no storms : gentle rains only during the winter months, and sometimes wind and thunder, but not immoderate.

Men seem not to sicken here ; and only die by the easy and tranquil declension of age. They consider seventy to eighty years the usual term of life ; but I have seen men and women who count upwards of an hundred, and such very common. They are free from chronic diseases. Even opthalmy, which seems contagious in Egypt and Barbary, effects no-

body here : and the plague is not known among them.

March 31st. Remained in camp. Very rainy day, with thunder and wind ; the succeeding evening chilly. The Bashaw absent.

April 1st. Chiek il Taiib put himself at the head of five Shieks, three of whom were of the caravan, and presented himself at my markee to demand an augmentation of the ration. I refused. He menaced. I reproached him as the cause of all our delays in the march, and with a total failure of all his engagements with me. He had engaged me four hundred mounted Arabs of his tribe at the Marabout and to bring me to Bomba in fourteen days. His whole number of men consisted of but twenty eight ; we had now been twenty five days in gaining half our distance : and, instead of encouraging our progress, he was on all occasions throwing obstacles in our way. He recriminated the Bashaw and other Chieks. I thought the Bashaw and Chieks he accused better men than himself ; and would not hear them calumniated. He believed me partial. I said to him, if he had experienced any evidence of my partiality it was in his favor until after his hypocrisy betrayed itself. It was true I now held him in no consideration, for I could place no reliance in any thing he said or undertook. He seemed very indifferent about the opinion I entertained of him, provided he could obtain his object. He cautioned me against persisting in the resolution I had taken not to augment the ration ; it would unavoidably produce an insurrection. The other Chieks and caravan would leave me. As for himself, he could not subsist on rice alone ; he *would have bread also.* I asked him if he thought to compel the measure ? He said, with a menacing tone, "Remember you are in a desert, *and a country not your own.*" *I am a greater man here than either you or the Bashaw.* I retorted : I have found you at the head of every commotion which has happened since we left Alexandria.

You are the instigator of the present among the chiefs. Leave my tent! but mark; if I find a mutiny in camp during the absence of the Bashaw, I will put you to instant death as the fomenter of it." He left the tent; mounted his horse; and, with two other Chieks, took himself cff. The Bashaw's Hasnadar (treasurer) had been called into my tent on the entrance of the Chiek il Taiib. He had the influence to pacify the other chiefs, or to engage them to wait at least till the return of the Bashaw. Now 10 o'clock and no news of him. 2 o'clock, P. M. the Chiek il Taiib returned. Entered into the tent of my officers: regretted that he had lost my confidence: apprehended that some secret enemy had insinuated unfavorable impressions against him: was devoted to me: would even abandon the Bashaw to follow me; and begged Mr. Farquhar and Peck to use their influence for a reconciliation.

Five, P. M. He came to my tent: professed eternal obligations and attachment: would seek every occasion to give proofs of it; and hoped that an opportunity would offer to him at Derne to convince me that he was a *man!*

I replied that I required nothing of him by way of reconciliation but truth, fidelity to the Bashaw, pacific conduct among the other chiefs, uniformity and perseverance in this conduct.

These he promised by an oath; and offered me his hand. 6 o'clock, P. M. The Bashaw not returned: apprehensive that he has suffered himself to fall into a snare of his brother. The day has been rainy, blowing, and chilly.

Visited the Arab camp. Their young men, young women and children are perfectly well made, and though copper colored, are handsome. Never saw teeth so universally sound and white, even and well set. The women do not veil: have nothing of the affected reserve and bigoted pride of the Turks; yet in their general deportment modest and bashful. I took dates in the tent of their principal Chiek: one

of his wives served them in an ozier pannier, and seemed elated with the visit. I complimented her elegant proportion and symmetry. She smiled, and said there were much handsomer young women in camp than herself. I doubted it. To give me proof, sundry fine girls and young married women were invited in. I admitted they were very handsome, but could not give up my first opinion.

April 2d. 3 o'clock, P. M. The Bashaw returned, accompanied by the Chieks Mahamet and others who separated themselves from us on the 30th ult. Whom he had overtaken on their route to the province of Behara, two hours march eastward of the castle Massarah, the ground of our encampment from the 15th to 21st ultimo; a distance of fifty nine miles. He rode all night of the 31st, and succeeding day in an uncomfortable fall of rain and chilly winds, and subsisted his party during the expedition on milk and dates which were occasionally brought him by the desert Arabs.

At 7 in the evening a meeting of the Bashaw and all the Chieks at my tent. I exhorted them, as on other instances of disagreement, to union and perseverance, as the only means of insuring success to the important enterprise in which they were engaged; to which they gave pledges of faith and honor; and orders were accordingly given to resume the line of march at reveillee beating tomorrow. We have now between six and seven hundred fighting men on the ground, exclusive of followers of the camp and Beduoin families, who inclusively make a body of about twelve hundred people.

April 3d. Marched at six, A. M. advanced only ten miles in front, when the Arabs pitched their camp and insisted on remaining here until they could send a caravan five days march into the interior of the desert to a place called Seewauk to procure dates. We were in a valley upon the centre of a vast elevated plain, and have excellent cistern water. I urged the march a head. The Arabs posi-

tively refused to proceed. They were short of provisions, and had no other resort. I said those wants would be supplied at Bomba. They replied that this depended on contingency; we could not command the sea. I threatened to take off the Christians. They intreated I would halt till the next morning. To this I consented, on condition that they would solemnly promise to throw no more impediments in the way of our progress to Bomba, and that they would hereafter yield implicit obedience to my orders; threatening at the same time to embark with the Bashaw and suit at that place, and proceed directly to Tripoli, leaving them to contend for the provinces of Derne and Bengazi alone in case of any infraction of these conditions. They pledged themselves; and we encamped. Their caravan went off for Seewauk, to join us again at Bomba. The Arabs say that at that place is a fountain, or lake of fresh water, of three leagues circumference, which supplies a considerable territory of good land by small rivulets descending from the mountains. It does not appear that this lake has any issue to the sea: but the truth of its existence is supported by the excellent dates brought thence to the castles on the sea board for sale; a fruit only found on low, well watered ground.

This afternoon a marriage was celebrated in the Arab camp. Two camels were dressed with a species of canopy, resembling a covered waggon, or hackney coach, traverse, covered with a species of carpeting, fabricated of camels hair, in imitation of that of Smyrna, supported by arches of wood like hoops, and ornamented with finer cloths of various colorings. The first ceremonies had already passed when the procession was announced to us by vollies of musketry. The bride and groom were closely, but separately, shut up in these carriages, attended by sundry elderly women, and all the adult unmarried girls of the camp on foot, and all the warriors mounted. The women had their places near the camels, chant-

ing a savage kind of epithalamium ; the men performing feats of horsemanship, and an incessant *feu de joie*. In this manner they took a circuit quite around their own encampment, and then proceeded to ours, and made the same circuit. After which the procession returned to two tents detached a few rods in the rear of their line of tents, where the camel which carried the bride was driven seven times round the tent assigned for her by the singing women. The animal was now made to kneel, the door of the carriage opened, and the bride precipitated head first into the tent, where she was surrounded by chiefs and matrons, with some young women, who repeated a short prayer or benediction, when all retired, leaving the bride with only her attendants. I had the curiosity, together with the gentlemen of the expedition, to fall into the procession. We were treated with marks of peculiar distinction ; and great exertions were taken to give us a place near the carriages. During the procession the camels were frequently halted, and dances were performed by young men and girls, exhibiting the most lascivious gestures. After the ceremonies were over it was signified to me that a present would be expected on the occasion. I asked a chief who would be the proper person to receive it ? He pointed out a middle aged woman, whom I observed to have been very officious during the ceremony of marriage, and whom I supposed to be the mother of the bride, to whom I presented two half rupees of two dollars each : and invited an old man of about fifty five, who, I took notice, seemed deeply concerned in the affair, and whom I supposed to be the father of one of the married couple, to accompany me to my tent, and ordered him a small present of extra provisions. He was followed by sundry other Arabs of distinction. Being seated in the tent, conversation turned to the marriage ceremony, which led to questions of the parentage and ages of the married pair : when, what was my surprise to find the old man to whom we had

exhibited our civilities to be himself the groom, his bride a girl of thirteen years, and the officious middle aged woman, whom I took to be the mother, another wife of this newly married dotard. It appeared that the old man was a Chiek ; his new bride a daughter of a family of the Samerank, whom he had bought of the parents, according to custom, before marriage. We were told that the bride must yet remain three days in the hands of matrons before consummation.

April 4th. Marched at 6, A. M. Halted at four afternoon. Gained eighteen miles. This day Capt. Selem Comb chased down a wild cat with his grey hound : height two feet; length from extremities five feet ; color sable, brindled about the body ; black ears and nose, and dark brindled tail : it was cooked, and it eat very well. An Arab, soon after, brought me a couple of her young ; but they were not old enough to be raised.

At this camping ground are two remarkable wells, between ninety five and a hundred feet deep, sunk through solid rock, except about four feet at the surface. The surrounding plains are a bed of marle and sand ; and have unequivocal evidence of ancient cultivation. Vast ruins of masonry scattered in different directions : the superstructures totally effaced by time.

April 5th. Marched 12 miles : camped seven leagues distant from the sea board. Here is a remarkable ancient castle of hewn stone, and regularly built, one hundred and eighty feet square, the walls eighteen high and five thick, with bastions at each angle, and battlements on the curtain constructed for archers. In the centre is a well, descending to an immense cistern, cut in solid rock, extending to another well without the walls, a distance of one hundred and twenty feet. This vast cistern must have been supplied by rain water conveyed into it from the terraces of buildings, as its depth is but about thirty feet, and the depth of the only well of water

in the vicinity is one hundred and fifty : the water of which is sulphurous and saline. The cistern is dry. Around the castle are many ruins of ancient buildings, of apparently excellent masonry; the cement of which resembles exactly that in the ruins of Carthage. Time in many places has consumed the freestone of the walls, leaving the cement perfectly entire, and honey combed.

Scattered among these ruins are numerous graves of pilgrims with Turkish and Arabic inscriptions of modern date, expressive of little else than an ejaculation. The surrounding country, as far as eye can ken, exhibits little more than a barren desert, seemingly never to have been cultivated, yet every where interspersed with ruins of masonry. One of my foreign officers found here, and presented me, two copper coins with Greek inscriptions but so effaced as not to be intelligible. On the west of this port is a mountain of great height, forming a steep bluff on its eastern abutment, extending in a circular direction south easterly as far as the eye can pursue it. The Arabs tell me this mountain preserves the same appearance quite to the province of Fiaume, and is called in their language *Auk bet Salaum*. Its site is a vast plain, rocky and barren, gradually inclined to the westward. Our guides fix this port one hundred and fifty miles from Derne.

April 6th. Last night a party of wild Arabs stole into the vicinity of our camp and took off nine of the Bashaw's horses. A detachment was sent this morning in search of them which returned at twelve and reported that they fell upon the track of fifty horses, supposed to be mounted by the thieves, which shaped a rapid course towards the interior of the desert. The detachment was reinforced and returned on the pursuit.

This morning died the saddle beast of one of my servants. 12 *o'clock at noon*. After six hours march came to a well seventy feet deep, below which a large cistern of bad water, foetid and saline. Our

horses had not drank during forty two hours, and the people with much difficulty procured a little very nauseous water from the deep well near the castle last night. Every body pressed near the well, the horses and people crouding upon each other for drink. In the struggle the horse of my other servant was forced backwards from the croud, and, the ground descending to the well, slipped and went down, with two cloaks, and perished in the fall. Continued our march 17 miles, but advanced very little in front, having kept under the side of the mountain to gain the seaboard. Halted at 3, P. M. within four miles of the sea shore. I walked with Mr. Farquhar and a servant to the water side. A very handsome bay formed by the mountain which extends into the sea a league and an half, and terminates in a high cape. The Arabs call the port Salaum : it is marked on the French chart Cape Luco :

They say it is remarkable for having been a shelter for the Maltese cruisers. Ninety miles from Bomba by calculation. We find no water this night.

April 7th. Marched at 6, A. M. ascended the mountain, and marched on its summit, eighteen miles in front. At four afternoon halted in a valley, where we found excellent feed for our horses, but no water.

April 8th. Marched at 6, A. M. Descended the western declivity of the mountain. At nine called a halt near a cistern of excellent rain water, excavated in a solid rock, at the bottom of a deep ravine, by the torrents of water and small stones which rush down the mountain by this avenue during the rainy season. This was a precious repast to our thirsty pilgrims. I went with a small party to survey the seacoast and reconnoitre the country, intending to pursue the march as soon as the army should have refreshed themselves. But, during my absence, the Bashaw ordered the camps pitched. On my return I demanded his reason for so doing. He answered that the exhausted situation of the troops and people required at least one day's repose. I dis-

covered however that his real intention was to remain on this ground until a courier should return, which he was about to dispatch to Bomba in quest of our vessels. We had only six days rations of rice; no bread nor meat and no small rations. I urged this circumstance as an impulsive reason why the march should continue. He said the Arab chiefs were resolved to proceed no further till the camp shall have recruited themselves by a little repose. I told him if they preferred famine to fatigue they might have the choice; and ordered their rations stopped. The day passed confusedly among them. At 3, P. M. the Bashaw, compelled by his Arab host, struck his tent, ordered his baggage packed, mounted, and took up a march for Fiaume by the mountain. I waited without emotion the result of this movement; not chusing to betray a concern for ourselves. Discovering however an intention in the Arabs to seize our provisions, I beat to arms. My Christians formed a line in front of the magazine tent. Each party held an opposite position the space of an hour. The Bashaw prevailed on the Arabs to return; they dismounted; and he pitched his tent. Supposing the tumult tranquilised, I ordered the troops to pass the manual exercise, according to our daily practice. In an instant the Arabs took an alarm; remounted, and exclaimed, "the Christians are preparing to fire on us!" The Bashaw mounted and put himself at their head, apparently impressed with the same apprehension. A body of about two hundred advanced in full charge upon our people, who stood their ground motionless. The enemy withdrew at as mall distance, singled out the officers, and, with deliberate aim, cried—*fire!* Some of the Bashaw's officers, exclaimed, "for God's sake do not fire! The Christians are our friends." Mr. O'Bannon, Mr. Peck, and young Farquhar, stood firmly by me, Selem Aga, (Capt. of Canoniers,) his Lieutenants and the two Greek officers, remained steadfast at their posts. The others were agitated, and in fact abandoned us.

I advanced towards the Bashaw and cautioned him against giving countenance to a desperate act. At once a column of muskets were aimed at my breast. The Bashaw was distracted. A universal clamor drowned my voice. I waved my hand as a signal for attention. At this critical moment some of the Bashaw's officers and sundry Arab chiefs rode between us with drawn sabres and repelled the mutineers. I reproached the Bashaw for his rashness, or rather weakness. His Casnadar asked him if he was in his senses. The Bashaw struck him with his naked sabre. The fracas had nearly resumed its rage, when I took the Bashaw by the arm; led him from the croud, and asked him if he knew his own interests and his friends! He relented: called me his friend and protector; said he was too soon heated; and followed me to my tent, giving orders at the same time to his Arabs to disperse. After a moment's breath, he said if I would give orders to issue rice it would quiet every thing. This I would not do on any other condition than his promise to march tomorrow morning at reveillee beating. He promised, and provisions were issued. Confessions of obligation and professions of attachment were repeated as usual on the part of the Bashaw and his officers; and the camp again resumed its tranquility. The firm and decided conduct of Mr. O'Bannon, as on all other occasions, did much to deter the violence of the savages by whom we were surrounded, as well as to support our own dignity of character. After the affair was over the Bashaw embraced him with an enthusiasm of respect, calling him *the brave American*. The Chevalier Davies, my aid de camp, acted a part which I would rather attribute to an amiable disposition than to weakness of nerve. My Doctor behaved decidedly like a coward, and a base one. Mr. Farquhar conducted with manly firmness. One of the Arabs, during the agitation, snapped a pistol at his breast. Happily it missed

fire : had it been otherwise the fire would most probably have become general and the result serious.

We find it almost impossible to inspire these wild bigots with confidence in us, or to persuade them that, being Christians, we can be otherwise than enemies to Mussulmen. We have a difficult undertaking !

April 9th. Marched at half past 5, A. M. advanced ten miles and halted at a water cistern. Good feed for our horses. Here are considerable ancient ruins of houses and partition walls, but almost entirely effaced.

In this cistern we found two dead men ; probably pilgrims murdered by the Arabs. We were obliged nevertheless to use the water.

April 10th. Marched ten miles, and at twelve o'clock camped in a beautiful valley between two ridges of desert mountain of calcarious rock and flint stone ; upon one of which we found an excellent cistern of rain water ; and in the valley, good feed for our horses.

The detachment joined us which went off the sixth ; but without recovering the horses or overtaking the thieves. Nothing but rice and water for subsistence and that at half rations. No intelligence from Bomba by the courier dispatched thither.

An idea has been insinuated into the mind of the Bashaw that we aim only to use him for the purpose of obtaining a peace with his brother, and that the manner is indifferent with us.

He gives place to this apprehension because *he has twice been deceived by Christian powers* ; *and because the English have deceived Elfi Bay*, as he says. And he permits himself so far to be carried away by the phantom, as to fear least we should give him up to the enemy.

Three o'clock, P. M. A general council of war. An insurmountable reluctance on the part of the Arabs and some of the Bashaw's people to proceed further without intelligence of our vessels, induced

me to agree to halt and wait for intelligence, after two days more march in front. The Bashaw fears desertions in case of approaching Derne without provisions. We have only three days half rations of rice, and no other supplies whatever: and, what renders our situation truly alarming, we can get no information of any vessels having appeared off the coast; as we now plainly perceive their arrival alone will prevent a revolt among our Arabs, who will undoubtedly take any side which will give them the best fare.

Seven o'clock, P. M. An officer came to my tent and informed me that mutiny was organized in the company of canoniers, and that they were about to embody and demand their full ration of provisions before this tent. I told him to endeavor by gentle means to suppress the mutiny; and, if he found this method impossible, to caution them on pain of death, not to appear in arms to make any remonstrances with me. At the same time sent for the issuing commissary to be informed of the exact quantity of rice on hand. I mentioned the disagreeable situation of affairs to no one but Mr. O'Bannon. Before any thing serious took place, about half past seven in the evening, the courier which had been dispatched to Bomba arrived with intelligence of our vessels being off that place and Derne. In an instant the face of every thing changed from pensive gloom to enthusiastic gladness. Nothing more heard of the mutiny. The Arabs resumed confidence. And the Bashaw promised to force the residue of our march to Bomba.

Nine in the evening. The Bashaw attacked by spasms and vomiting; continued the greater part of the night.

April 11th. Marched at 6, A. M. gained five miles a head, and camped. The Bashaw's indisposition rendered a halt indispensable. No water. Discovered a singular commerce between our soldiers and the Arab women. They exchanged their buttons, which

they cut from their clothes, for dates. The women strung them as ornaments about their necks. Six, P. M. The Bashaw recovers.

April 12th. Marched twenty five miles; the first part of the day in the continuation of the valley mentioned the tenth; but camped on an eminence where there was neither water nor fuel. The residue of our rice issued to day; but the troops were obliged to eat it without cooking. Such of the Arab tribes as moved with their families camped five miles in the rear; being unable to come up, exhausted by fatigue and hunger.

April 13th. Marched seven and a half miles. Hunger and fatigue rendered the foot soldiers and Bedouin families unable to pursue the march. The Bashaw killed and issued one of his camels of burthen, and exchanged another with the Arabs for sheep; which together gave a full ration to our troops, but they were without bread or salt.

April 14th. Marched fifteen miles. Camped in a pleasant valley of rich strong land, but totally uncultivated. Good and abundance of feed for our horses, and sundry cisterns excavated in the ridges on the borders of the valley contained excellent rain water; but we were totally destitute of provisions. Near these cisterns and in the valleys are ruins of ancient architecture and visible marks of former cultivation; but now all is waste.

April 15th. Marched at seven in the morning. Our people this day scattered throughout all the plain in search of roots and vegetable substances to appease the cravings of hunger. A species of wild fennel and sorrel which we found in the small ravines contributed something to our support. At 4 o'clock P. M. we reached Bomba. But what was my astonishment to find at this celebrated port not the foot trace of a human being, nor a drop of water. And what my mortification to find no vessels here. We had this day taken up three Arabs who gave me positive declarations that they had seen two vessels

in the Bay a few days before, and very well described the brig Argus, Capt. Hull; but they were gone, and I concluded had left the coast in despair of our arrival. Nothing could prevail on our Arabs to believe that any had been there. They abused us as imposters and infidels; and said we had drawn them into that situation with treacherous views.

All began now to think of the means of individual safety; and the Arabs came to a resolution to separate from us the next morning. I recommended an attempt to get into Derne. This was thought impracticable. I went off with my Christians, and kept up fires upon a high mountain in our rear all night. At eight the next morning, at the instant when our camp was about breaking up, the Bashaw's casnadar, Zaid, who had ascended the mountain for a last lookout, discovered *a sail!* It was the Argus. Capt. Hull had seen our smokes, and stood in. Language is too poor to paint the joy and exultation which this messenger of life excited in every breast. I went on board at twelve o'clock; the camp in the mean time moved five or six miles round the bay to a cistern of water: and at six in the afternoon provisions were sent off to them. I remained on board all night.

On the 17th, eleven in the morning, the sloop Hornet arrived, laden with provisions. The quarter of the bay where the vessels fell in with us being inconvenient for landing; on the 18th and 19th, I continued the march round the bay, twenty two miles, where we found an inexhaustable cistern of water and a good harbor and landing.

The 20th, 21st and 22d, we remained on this ground: refreshed our famished army; and took out of the Hornet the necessary provisions to carry us to Derne.

April 23d. Cold, high winds with rain. Marched ten miles over a mountainous rocky country, and camped in a ravine, within a mile from a natural source of water, springing from the top of a moun-

tain of freestone, near cape Razatine. This is the first natural spring we have found since leaving Egypt. We are approaching cultivated fields. A herald cries through the camp—"he who fears God and feels attachment to Hamet Bashaw will be careful to destroy nothing. Let no one touch the growing harvest. He who transgresses this injunction shall lose his right hand!"

April 24th. Marched fifteen miles over mountainous and broken ground, covered with herbage and very large and beautiful red cedars: the first resemblance of a forest tree we have seen during a march of nearly six hundred miles. Camped in a pleasant valley, by a natural rivulet bordered with delightsome verdure and fields of barley, about five hours march from Derne. Certain information came to us here that the Governor of the country had fortified himself and was determined to defend the city against our approach. The same courier confirmed the intelligence which had frequently before been stated to us that the army of Joseph Bashaw, which he had sent out for the defence of the province, were near Derne, and would probably, by a forced march arrive before us; especially if we waited the return of our vessels to the coast, which had been blown off in the gale of the 23d. Alarm and consternation seized the Arab chiefs; and despondency the Bashaw. The night was passed in consultations among them at which I was not admitted.

April 25th. At six in the morning beat the general and gave orders for marching. The Arabs mutinized. The Chieks il Taiib and Mahamet at the head of the Arab cavalry took up a retrograde march, and the Bedouins refused to strike their tents. After much persuasion, some reproach, and a promise of two thousand dollars to be shared among the chiefs, they were prevailed on to advance: and at two o'clock, P. M. we camped on an eminence which overlooks Derne, and reconnoitered the place. Discovered that the Governor's defence consisted of

a water battery of eight nine pounders towards the N. E. some temporary breast works and walls of old buildings to the S. E. and along the front of the bay a department of the city of about one third the whole number of inhabitants, who were in the interest of Joseph Bashaw, had provided their terraces and walls of their houses with loop holes. The Governor had also a ten inch howitzer mounted on the terrace of his palace. Sundry Chicks came out this evening to meet the Bashaw, who assured him of the loyalty and attachment of the other two departments of the city ; but stated that the Governor could bring eight hundred men into battle, and as he possessed all the batteries, breast works, and seaboard, we should find it difficult to dislodge him. Besides Joseph Bashaw's army was just at hand. I thought the Bashaw wished himself back to Egypt. No vessels in sight today.

April 26th. Eight, A. M. made signals by smoke upon the highest point of the mountain. At 2, P. M. the Nautilus hove in sight : exchanged signals : and at six we spoke. I expressed my determination to attack the town tomorrow if the other vessels came in seasonably.

April 27th. At half past five in the morning, the Argus and Hornet appeared in sight.

See my dispatches to Commodore Barron of April 29th, page 336.

May 1st. The sloop Hornet went off with those dispatches.

May 2d. Examined the different sites in the vicinity of the town. Used exertions to draw the Governor from his sanctuary. TheHiram in which he had taken asylum appertained to a Chick of Mesreat, one of the departments of the city in the interest of the Bashaw. Neither persuasion, bribes nor menace, could prevail on this venerable aged chief to permit the hospitality of his house to be violated. He urged that whatever may be the weakness or even the crimes of the Arabs there was never an in-

stance known among them of giving up a fugitive to whom they had once accorded their protection; and should he suffer himself to transgress that sacred principle, the vengeance of God and the odium of all mankind would justly fix on him and his posterity.

May 3d. Information that the enemy are advancing. Set myself to fortifying our post.

May 8th. These five days have been employed in putting ourselves in as good a state of defence as the means we possess will admit. The enemy have advanced by a circuitous rout and planted their camp on the ground we occupied the 25th and 26th ult. The inhabitants of the town in a state of consternation. It seems yet a matter of uncertainty with them which is the strongest party; a defeat to Hamet Bashaw would be slaughter to his adherents. Apprehending a counter revolution through the intrigue of Mustapha Bey, the late Governor, I again demanded him of his host, threatning to canonade his department. He said he would submit to the chastisement of God; but would not consent to violate his ordinances.

May 12th. The enemy have been these four days endeavoring to corrupt and bring over the people of the town. The late Governor acting from his sanctuary must be considered as an active enemy, entitled to no privileges of hospitality. The Chiek remained immovable in his resolution not to give him up. I resolved to try an experiment of compelling him; accordingly marched into the quarter near him at the head of fifty Christians with bayonets, and declared my intention to wrest the Bey from his sanctuary. A general alarm spread through the department. "The Christians no longer respect the customs of our fathers and our laws of hospitality!" I urged that the Bey was an outlaw; he had forfeited his title to protection. He had in the first instance rejected terms of amity; had in an insolent manner challenged me to combat; had been beaten

from his post; was still in a conquered town; and was by all the laws of war my prisoner. But if he sought refuge under the banners of religion to deserve its protection he should conform himself to its injunctions and remain peaceable. But he was actually carrying on war against me even in his recluse, by doing which, he had forfeited also the lenity due to a prisoner. I would therefore have him dead or alive. The Chiek remained inflexible. The department got in motion to defend their religion and customs. The Bashaw, Hamet, apprehensive of an insurrection, became deeply agitated. He begged that I would suspend the execution of my attempt till tomorrow, promising in the mean time to use his exertions to draw the Bey from the protection of the Chiek by gentle means. I countermarched. This night the Chiek aided the Bey to escape to the enemy's camp with fifteen or sixteen Turks in his train.

May 13th. See my dispatches of 15th, to Commodore Barron.

It is worthy of remark that the same Chiek of Mesreat, who had given refuge to and aided the escape of Mustapha Bey, fought him the next day, and brought all his people into the engagement against the enemy in favor of Hamet Bashaw. After the battle was gained he presented himself at the Bashaw's palace, kissed his hand, and, seating himself before him as a subject in manner of the east, reproached him in these manly and expressive terms.

"I have this day given you, I trust, an unequivocal demonstration of my personal attachment and fidelity. I ought to say to you that you have not merited it. You would have yielded to the instances of the Christian General in violating the hospitality of my house, and of degrading the honor of my name. You should have recollected, that, not quite two years ago, you were saved in this same asylum, and secured in your escape by the same hospitality, from the vengeance of this very same Bey. Had the fortune of this day gone against you I should

have suppressed these sentiments of reproach : as it is, I have acquited myself to my God and my conscience." He then renewed his oath of allegiance to the Bashaw.

May 18th. Three, A. M. The Nautilus sailed with dispatches to Malta.

At 9 in the morning the enemy advanced in order of battle to the declivity of the mountain, but could not bring themselves to a resolution to meet the vast numbers who showed themselves with Hamet Bashaw ; and retired in about an hour : they had daily showed themselves since the 13th, but not so conspicuously.

May 20th. Eight o'clock, A. M. the enemy appear in all their force ; and seem resolute for a display of gallantry. At 10 they disappeared. At 6, P. M. a woman from their camp states that it was the intention of the Beys to have attacked our works this morning ; but the Arabs refused to advance to the charge. The Beys attempted to compel them. They said they had not only the preservation of their own lives but the existence of their families to keep in view. Hamet Bashaw had possession of the town and the Christians of the batteries ; these, with the great guns of the shipping, would destroy every thing that approached them. They would remain with the camp till reenforcements came from Joseph Bashaw ; and would then fight the Christians. The Beys then demanded their camels to be moved as covers to their front and flanks. This they refused. The Beys were obliged to give up the project of a victory today. The flocks of the Beduoin Arabs have been under the protection of our guns since the morning of the 13th. There has hitherto been no instance of this confidence being deceived. Their women bring us mutton, milk, eggs, and traffic with our soldiers without any apprehensions of violence or fraud. We have several days been reduced to the necessity of bartering prize goods of the Argus for

meat for the garrison. A humiliating traffic : but we have no cash.

May 21st. A woman from the enemy's camp states that a reenforcement joined them yesterday of 150 cavalry ; that they expect another today or tomorrow, when they calculate on taking the town and besieging the Christian post.

May 22d. An Arab chief who had been chained as a hostage with the enemy to insure the fidelity of his troops, escaped to us. Says the Arabs absolutely refuse to risk another assault on the town. He promises to bring his people, to the number of eighty, over to the Bashaw.

WE WANT NOTHING BUT CASH TO BREAK UP OUR ENEMY'S CAMP WITOUT FIRING ANOTHER SHOT !

May 23d. Hassien Bey, the commander in chief of the enemy's forces, has offered by private insinuation, for my head, *six thousand dollars*, and double the sum for me a prisoner ; and $30 per head for Christians. Why dont he come and take it ?

Five o'clock, P. M. Overwhelmed with the scyroc or hot wind of the desert. It come in a hurricane and brought with it a column of heated dust, which resembled the smoke of a conflagration, and turned the sun in appearance, to melted copper, swept every thing to the ground that had life ; and filled every thing with a hot, subtile sand, or rather powder. We were distressed for breath : the lungs contracted : blood heated like a fever : and a relaxing perspiration covered the surface of the body.

It lasted 3-4 of an hour.

May 25th. The Scyroc wind blew in a gale from the south west all day. So piercing was the heat that the white pine boards of our folding table and book coverings in our tents warped as if before a close fire.

The heated dust penetrated every thing, through our garments ; and indeed seemed to choak the pores of the skin. It had a singular effect on my wound, giving it the painful sensations of a fresh

burn. The skin, after perspiration became dry and parched, and the lungs compressed and inflamed. Water standing in tumblers in a few minutes became heated to such a degree as not to be borne in the hand ; and even stones, naturally cold, were so hot that the soldiers were obliged to suspend labor at the trenches.

May 28th. Attacked and defeated a detached party of the enemy, of about sixty foot and a troop of horse, with only thirty five Americans and Greeks, including officers. Mr. O'Bannon, Mann and Farquhar, and Capt. Constantino, were with me.

May 29th. The enemy feinted an attack. See dispatches of this date.

Six o'clock, P. M. a mirabout (saint) who had experienced some charities from me—now from the enemy, states that two women, one at camp and the other in town, have engaged to take me off by poison ; and that the commander in chief of the enemy, has already made them large presents, among other things, a diamond ring, brelleant solitaire, in anticipation of this service. The saint cautioned me against accepting any presents of pastry corking, preserves, or fruit, from any persons of the town.

June 11th. The following is a statement of the enemy's forces, as given by Selim, Chiek of Mensurat who deserted to us the 16th ultimo.

1. Hassien Bey, commander in chief.
2. Hadge Ismain, of Cavalry.
3. Muhamed, Bey of Bengazi.
4. Mustapha, Bey of Derne.
5. Imhamed, Bey of Ogna.

Tripolitans mounted	- - - -	270
Vicinity of Mensurat	do. - - -	90
Imselletti	do. - - -	30
Issileiti	do. - - -	30
Issiheli	do. - - -	75
Bengazi and vicinity	do. - - -	90

Jeiberna Arabs	do.	- - -	260
Haddud do.	do.	- - -	100
			945
Foot Arabs	1250		1600
Do. refugees, Derne	350		
			2545
Recruits, up to 10th June		- - -	500
		Totol	3045

Derne, April 29th, 1805.

SIR,

OWING to impediments too tedious to detail, but chiefly to delinquency in our quartermaster's department, which I had confided to Richard Farquhar, I did not leave Alexandria till the third of last month. The host of Arabs, who accompanied the Bashaw from that place and joined him on the rout, moving chiefly with their families and flocks, rendered our progress through the desert slow and painful; add to this the ungovernable temper of this marauding militia, and the frequent fits of despondency, amounting sometimes to mutiny, occasioned by information, almost every day meeting us, of formidable reenforcements from the enemy for the defence of this place, and it will not seem unaccountable that it was not till the fifteenth instant we arrived at Bomba. We had now been twenty five days without meat, and fifteen without bread, subsisting on rice. Happily, the next morning, discovered the Argus, to whom I made signals by smoke, which were discovered and answered. The Hornet soon after appeared. Capt. Hull sent off a boat. I went on board, and had the honor and inexpressible satisfaction of receiving your communications of 22d ult. The timely supplies which came forward in these vessels gave animation to our half famished people; and no time was lost in moving forward. On the morning

of the 25th, we took post on an eminence in the rear of Derne. Several chiefs came out to meet the Bashaw with assurances of fealty and attachment. By them I learned that the city was divided into three departments; two of which were in the interest of the Bashaw, and one in opposition. This department, though fewest in numbers, was strongest in position and resource, being defended by a battery of eight guns, the blind walls of the houses which are provided in all directions with loop holes for musketry, and by temporary parapets thrown up in several positions not covered by the battery; this department is the nearest the sea and the residence of the Bey. On the morning of the 26th, terms of amity were offered the Bey on condition of allegiance and fidelity.* The flag of truce was sent back to me with this laconic answer, "My head or yours!"—at 2, P. M. discovered the Nautilus, and spoke her at six. At 6 in the morning of the 27th, the Argus and Hornet appeared and stood in. I immediately put the army in motion, and advanced towards the city. A favorable land breeze enabled the Nautilus and Hornet to approach the shore, which is a steep and rugged declivity of rocks. With much difficulty we landed, and drew up the precipice one of the field pieces; both were sent in

* *Environs of Derne, April 26th.*

His Excellency the Governor of Derne.

Sir,

I want no territory. With me is advancing the legitimate Sovereign of your country—give us a passage through your city; and for the supplies of which we shall have need, you shall receive fair compensation. Let no differences of religion induce us to shed the blood of harmless men who think little and know nothing. If you are a man of liberal mind you will not balance on the propositions I offer. Hamet Bashaw pledges himself to me that you shall be established in your government. I shall see you tomorrow in a way of your choice.

——EATON.

the boat for the purpose, but the apprehension of losing this favorable moment of attack induced me to leave one on board. We advanced to our positions. A fire commenced on the shipping. Lieut. Evans stood in, and, anchoring within one hundred yards of the battery, opened a well directed fire. Lieut. Dant dropped in and anchored in a position to bring his guns to bear on the battery and city. And Capt. Commandant Hull brought the Argus to anchor a little south of the Nautilus, so near as to throw her 24 pound shot quite into the town. A detachment of six American marines, a company of 24 cannoniers, and another of 36 Greeks, including their proper officers, all under the immediate command of Lieut. O'Bannon, together with a few Arabs on foot, had a position on an eminence opposite to a considerable party of the enemy, who had taken post behind their temporary parapets and in a ravine at the S. E. quarter of the town. The Bashaw seized an old castle which overlooked the town on the S. S. W. disposing his cavalry upon the plains in the rear. A little before 2, P. M. the fire became general in all quarters where Tripolitans and Americans were opposed to each other. In three quarters of an hour the battery was silenced, but not abandoned; though most of the enemy withdrew precipitately from that quarter and joined the party opposed to the handful of Christians with me, which appeared our most vulnerable point. Unfortunately the fire of our field piece was relaxed by the rammer being shot away. The fire of the enemy's musketry became too warm, and continually augmenting. Our troops were thrown into confusion; and, undisciplined as they were, it was impossible to reduce them to order. I perceived a charge our dernier and only resort. We rushed forward against a host of savages more than ten to our one. They fled from their coverts irregularly, firing in retreat from every palm tree and partition wall in their way. At this moment I received a ball through my left wrist which deprived me of the use

of the hand, and of course of my rifle. Mr. O'Bannon, accompanied by Mr. Mann of Annapolis, urged forward with his marines, Greeks, and such of the cannoniers as were not necessary to the management of the field piece ; passed through a shower of musketry from the walls of houses ; took possession of the battery ; planted the American flag upon its ramparts ; and turned its guns upon the enemy ; who, being now driven from their out posts, fired only from their houses, from which they were soon dislodged by the whole fire of the vessels, which was suspended during the charge, being directed into them. The Bashaw soon got possession of the Bey's palace ; his cavalry flanked the flying enemy ; and a little after four o'clock we had compleat possession of the town. The action lasted about two hours and an half. The Bey took refuge, first in a mosque, and then in a hiram, the most sacred of sanctuaries among the Turks ; and is still there : but we shall find means to draw him thence. As he is the third man in rank in the kingdom he may perhaps be used in exchange for Capt. Bainbridge.

I have fixed my post in the battery ; raised parapets and mounted guns towards the country to be prepared against all events ; though I have no serious apprehension of a counter revolution. The moment of gaining Derne has been peculiarly fortunate, as the camp, which long since left Tripoli for its defence, were within two days, fourteen hours march, the day of our attack ; of which we had information in the morning, and from which circumstance it was with much difficulty I could prevail on the Bashaw's army to advance to the city and to obey my dispositions. The camp will probably take up a retrograde march.

Of the few Christians who fought on shore, I lost fourteen killed and wounded ; three of whom are marines, one dead and another dying ; the rest chiefly Greeks, who, in this little affair, well supported their ancient character.

It would be going out of my sphere to comment on the conduct of naval commanders in the field.

Yet I should do violence to my own sense of duty and obligation were I not to observe they could not have taken better positions for their vessels nor managed their fire with more skill and advantage.

The detail I have given of Mr. O'Bannon's conduct needs no encomium: and it is believed the disposition our government have always discovered to encourage merit will be extended to this intrepid, judicious and enterprising officer. Mr. Mann's conduct is equally meritorious. I am bound also by a sense of well merited esteem to mention to your particular patronage a young English gentleman, Mr. Farquhar, who has volunteered in our expedition through the desert, and has, in all cases of difficulty, exhibited a firmness and attachment well deserving my gratitude; if compatible with our establishments, I request you will ensure him a Lieutenacy in the marine corpes.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and sincere attachment,
Sir, your very obedient servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

SAMUEL BARRON, ESQ. *Commander in Chief.*

Derne, April 29th, 1805.

SIR,

THE information I have the honor to forward of this date, stating in abstract occurrences since my last, will not disappoint the expectations my calculations then may have formed. Certain periods of your letter of 22d ult. Require a distinct and separate answer. This I shall do with candor.

It was understood, when government came to a determination to try the effect of a cooperation with Hamet Bashaw against the enemy, that provisions

would be made adequate to the experiment. Six field pieces, a thousand stands of arms, with suitable ammunition, and eighty thousand dollars were asked for by Hamet Bashaw while yet in possession of this province, and gaining ground against the usurper. The Secretary of the navy informed me that the arms, ammunition, and fifty thousand dollars would be furnished; and they were to have been put on board at Hampton roads. While the Squadron were getting ready for sea, information arrived of the Bashaw having been driven from his post, and retired to Egypt. In consequence of which, it is to be presumed, the supplies getting in readiness were withheld, as the success of the experiment then appeared very doubtful. The twenty thousand dollars deposited with the Consul General at Algiers, to be applied to this service, cannot be supposed adequate to the purpose of bringing the Bashaw from his exile in Egypt, placing him in a situation to act against a rival possessed of all the resources of his kingdom, and of carrying his plan of operations into effect, whatever may have been the disposition of the people towards him. The twenty thousand dollars therefore could have been meant only to assist the research of the Bashaw and the revival of his affairs, in case our plan should be thought feasible. Hence, I think, it is not presuming too far to conclude that the unlimited discretion vested in the Commander in chief in regard to all the exigencies of the war: and particularly as it relates to the object in view, extends to every matter necessary to its accomplishment. The instructions of the Secretary of the navy certainly cannot mean to tie him down to any limited applications. The advantages calculated to result from the success of this measure have been heretofore stated: and thus far, the experiment has not disappointed those calculations. We are in possession of the most valuable province of Tripoli. The high estimation the enemy places on this department of the kingdom is evi-

denced by the extraordinary efforts he has used to defend it, and by the menaces to which he has resorted to deter us from the operations here : his camp was only fourteen hours march from the place when we seized it by assault. I am this evening informed they are retrogradeing, and only regret that we have not the means of pursuing them. The expences already incurred in this expedition will amount to nearly thirty thousand dollars—for thirteen thousand of which we are indebted to Messrs. Briggs, brothers, of Alexandria, eleven thousand have been received through the hands of Captain Hull, including his advances and drafts in Egypt. I have disbursed nearly two thousand, and for the residue shall be indebted to individuals. This expence will not appear extravagant when it is considered, that it covers all our expenditures in Egypt, where many sacrifices were necessary to pass the carriers of Turkish jealousy and avidity in getting the Bashaw through that country ; of furnishing horses, tents, arms, and ammunition preparatory to our entering the desert ; of provisioning a thousand two hundred souls, and about two hundred horses in that barren desert upwards of forty days, a distance of nearly six hundred miles, and of caravans for transporting these provisions the whole distance from Alexandria : and also the unavoidable expenditures in presents to chiefs, and payments to troops in order to gain the one, and avail ourselves of the services of the other.

May 1st. The situation in which it is known Hamet Bashaw was found in upper Egypt must of itself suggest the idea that he must be destitute of all means necessary for moving a military expedition except the attachment of his subjects. The possession of this province does not materially alter that situation. The general failure of the harvest which the whole coast of Barbary experienced last season, together with the extraordinary tributes which Joseph Bashaw has exacted to support the war, has ren-

dered, not only this, but every other part of Tripoli poor and oppressed ; wholly destitute of the means of contributing any thing very considerable to either of the rival brothers. This is a circumstance favorable to our measures if we will go to the expence of profiting of it. No chief, whatever may be the attachment of his followers, can long support military operations, without the means of subsisting and paying his troops. The observation is peculiarly applicable to the temper, and circumstances of the Arabs of this country, who in fact form its real strength—who are poor, yet avaricious ; and who, being accustomed to despotism, are generally indifferent about the name or person of their despot, provided he imposes no new burthens. Stronger proof of this cannot be brought than the difficulty Joseph Bashaw's camp has found in recruiting in its progress from Tripoli. It left that long since with about two hundred men.

I have this morning intercepted six letters from that camp, dated only four days since, signed by the commander in chief, the Governor of Bengazi, and an aid de camp, addressed to the Governor of Derne, and to several chiefs, or Chicks, encouraging them to hope and perseverance, and stating that their delay has only been occasioned by expectations of receiving reenforcements from the Arab tribes : they have increased their number only three hundred, though they have passed through that part of the country nearest, and most nearly attached to the enemy. Hamet Bashaw brought two thousand Arabs into the field on the 27th. This serves to shew the weight of money with these people ; and as a pretty good criterion of the balance of influence between the two Bashaws. With the aids contemplated by government to have been furnished Hamet Bashaw, when in the position he now holds, I have no doubt but he may proceed to the walls of Tripoli. But, while I offer this opinion, I cannot conceal my apprehension, grounded on experience, that, when ar-

rived there he would effect little without more military talent and firmness than exists either in himself or the hordes of Arabs who attach themselves to him. They are exactly what Volney describes of the camps of the Egyptian Beys, rather a rabble than an army. And in our affair here, they held safe positions, to catch fugitives, until the doors of the enemy were opened for plunder, when they became at once brave and impetuous. If, therefore, the cooperation is to be pursued with him, and if its direction is to be confided to me, it must be on condition that detachments of regulars may be occasionally debarked from the squadron, or procured elsewhere to aid and give effect to such operations as require energy. With the supplies asked for, provisions for our Christians, and with the firm front of one regular regiment, I believe it would not be presuming too far to engage, in conjunction with the squadron, to force the enemy to take refuge in a sanctuary. But I confess sir, there is one discouraging circumstance, resulting from the declared views in affording auxiliaries to Hamet Bashaw. These aids are to be withdrawn at *any period* when the enemy shall propose terms of peace which may be accepted by the *agent of government on the spot.* If Hamet Bashaw is to be used *solely* as an *instrument* to the attainment of an object exclusively to the advantage of the United States, without any consideration to *his* future existence and wellbeing, I cannot persuade myself that any bonds of patriotism dictate to me the duty of having a chief agency, nor indeed any, in so extraordinary a sacrifice. Certainly the enemy will propose any terms of peace with us the moment he entertains serious apprehensions from his brother. This may happen at any stage of the war most likely to rid him of so dangerous a rival, and not only Hamet Bashaw, but every one acting with him must inevitably fall victims to our *economy !*

If we proceed no farther it would seem incumbent on the honor of government, in the event of peace, at

least to place Hamet Bashaw in a situation as eligible as that from which he has been drawn ; out of the power of an incenced and vindictive enemy. Probably Joseph Bashaw would agree to establish him in the government of this province and Bengazi, and to restore to him his family. He may perhaps be made satisfied with such an accommodation, and the United States experience from it, many of the advantages calculated to result from carrying the original plan into execution, and consistently with both our honor and interest. At all events I am deeply impressed with the opinion that the post we have secured here, should not be abandoned, nor terms of peace precipitately embraced ; indeed it were to be wished that the effect of the success of a cooperation might be tried : it would very probably be a death blow to the Barbary system. Any accommodation savoring of relaxness, would as probably be death to the navy and wound to the national honor. If it determined either to proceed or hold a position here, further supplies of cash and provision must immediately be sent to the coast. For reasons which will suggest themselves from preceding observations, it would not be good policy in Hamet Bashaw to levy contributions during the contest with his brother, least it should alienate his friends : on the contrary, he ought to be enabled to move with a liberal hand. Cash will do much with the inhabitants of this country ; even those whom it will not engage to fight, will by it be engaged not to fight ; with it we can pass generally. But if we here and there find a walled town, or a garrison impervious to its influence, cannon balls and bayonets come in as irresistable agents.

The convention I have entered into with Hamet Bashaw, may be useful in case he succeed in getting repossession of his government : otherwise it can do no mischief, even if ratified, as will appear by the precaution in the second article. I inclose a copy.

It is with much pain I keep a sedentary position to write; this circumstance with the indulgence I allow myself to expect from your goodness will, I am persuaded, furnish me an apology for omissions and inaccuracies.

It has been deemed expedient, by Capt. Hull and the other Commanders, whom I have consulted, and myself, that the Argus and Nautilus should remain here until these dispatches can receive answers, on account of the enemy's camp being in the vicinity. I am confident it will not approach us, but disperse, if it has not already. Should it be perceived, however, that the coast is to be abandoned, it would encourage an effort in the Commanders to gain their post of destination.

I have not language to express my sense of gratitude, and obligation for your exertions in forwarding us supplies: without them we must have perished. With my most cordial wishes for the speedy and perfect reestablishment of your health, and with the assurance of my sincere respect and attachments,

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your faithful
obedient servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM EATON.

SAMUEL BARRON, ESQ. *Commander in chief.*

Derne, kingdom of Tripoli, May 15th, 1805.

SIR,

SINCE my dispatches of 29th ultimo and 1st instant, we have been occupied with the movements of the enemy's troops; who contrary to our expectations, advanced and gave us battle on the 13th. The preceding night the late Bey of Derne, whom I found inaccessable in his sacred asylum, escaped to their camp; and having gained very correct information of our number of Christians on shore; and carrying with him the confidence of assurance that the inhabitants of the place would

abandon Hamet Bashaw, on the appearance of Joseph's forces, gave encouragement and motion to the latter. About 9 in the morning they shewed themselves on the high grounds in our rear; displayed five standards: reconnoitered us a while; and moved down in a body, and attacked a detachment of about one hundred of Hamet's cavalry, who were posted in the rout about a mile from the town. These, though they disputed the ground very bravely, were obliged to give way to superiority of numbers. The enemy pursued into the city under a steady fire from the Argus and Nautilus, and the guns from our battery and field pieces, and proceeded through an irregular fire of small arms from ambuscades quite to the Bashaw's palace. Here they met a warm reception from the musketry of the people who were near him, and of the inhabitants who fired from the blind walls of their houses: but they seemed resolute to get possession of the Bashaw's person. The weakness of our post would not justify a sortie to his relief: and, apprehending, from the scattered and relaxed fire of the musketry, that the day was lost to us. I turned our guns upon the town. Very fortunately a shot from one of our nine pounders, killed two of the enemy from their horses near the palace. They instantly sounded a retreat; and, abandoning the town at all quarters, were every where pursued by Hamet's cavalry, until they were chaced under the shot of the vessels; which galled them sorely in their flight. A little before three, P. M. every thing in the city was reduced to tranquility, and the enemy were seen only from their heights. I am happy that this occurrence enables me to correct an opinion I had formed from the affair of the 27th ultimo, that the Bashaw's people calculated too much on saving themselves: they certainly left the burthen of that day to us, with which I could not forbear reproaching their chief: in this engagement they exhibited intrepidity and good conduct. By an Italian slave who escaped the

enemy the succeeding evening, and by deserters who have come in since, we have pretty certain information that they lost twenty eight men killed and fifty six wounded, eleven of whom are since dead. The Bashaw lost twelve or fourteen killed and wounded. The enemy are again appearing on the heights, and by what we can learn, are making arrangements for another assault. As a species of defence, they are endeavoring to collect camels to secure their front and flanks. These travelling breast works, it is presumed may be worked both ways ; and may perhaps, be rendered useful in the transportation of our baggage to Bengazi. So soon as the issue of the next *recontre* is decided, which will probably happen within two or three days, if at all, the schooner will go off with dispatches.

May 16th. Last evening two officers deserted to us from the enemy. Chieks from Cape Mensurat, Selim and Ahaliel, who assure us that the camp are in great disunion. The Beys, stung with disappointment and shame, and their Tripolitan troops are for hazarding another attempt on Derne. The Arabs recruited on the march, are opposed to it. The number of Tripolitans is three hundred and fifty, well mounted : of Arabs on horseback, between two and three hundred ; and about three hundred Bedouins, or desert Arabs on foot.

In this promiscuous army, are two or three hundred fugitives from this place, who fought us on the 27th ult. and who now pass for Tripolitans and Arabs.

May 17th. The enemy have thrown up parapets of loose stone wall, with loop holes, around their camp, which is planted three miles distant, and separated from us by a chain of mountains, and are employed in plundering corn and forage, for their own and the subsistance of their horses. By fugitives come in this morning, we learn that the Arabs obstinately refuse to advance again, within reach of our cannon, or to suffer their camels to be used as breast

works. The Beys are embarrassed. They must make a desperate push, or a retrograde march. Never were an enemy in so favorable a position to be attacked by a *coup de main*. I cannot prevail on the Bashaw's people to attempt it: they never fight by night: they indeed are unwilling to go out of the town against the enemy, before receiving some pecuniary encouragement. We are really too weak to force their lines alone; and the state of the vessels does not admit of debarkations. It is enough to state these facts, without a comment, to give you a sympathy in the pain we suffer under these mortifying circumstances. The Nautilus sails to night with this letter, and duplicates of my last. I beg leave to refer you to Capt Dent, whose intelligence collected on the spot, and whose correct judgment will enable him to supply circumstantially such information of our actual position and future prospects as may not be gathered from my communications. We shall endeavor to hold this post till his return, (which I request you will permit,) though I ought not to conceal my apprehensions that it will be very difficult many days without supplies. The enemy on our rear cut off, at present, all provisions which we might otherwise draw from the country.

I have the honor to be,
very respectfully, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM EATON.

SAMUEL BARRON, ESQ. *Commander in chief.*

N. B. Bread and rice are essential articles of subsistence—coffee and sugar necessary—some salt provisions and small rations.

Derne, May 29th, 1805.

SIR,

SINCE the departure of the Nautilus with my dispatches of the 17th, the enemy have dai-

ly shewed themselves in a menacing posture near us; but have not come to general action. Yesterday a detachment of about 50 or 60 of their foot, covered by a troop of horse, descended the mountain by a ravine, fell upon some of our Arab families, who were camped in the rear of the town, and drove off several cattle and camels. The Bashaw's people pursued and attacked them under the mountain; killed and wounded three of them, and recovered their cattle. I marched out with Lieut. O'Bannon, Mr. Mann, and Farquhar, and thirty rank and file, Americans and Greeks, from the garison, and took a ravine on the left, with a view of cutting off their retreat. We fell in with them soon after ascending the mountain. They opposed to us a short resistance, but fled before a charge af bayonet. We pursued them within a short distance of their camp: killed their Captain and five men; wounded a number, and took two prisoners; without receiving any injury ourselves. The camp beat to arms; mounted and moved towards us in a body; but did not come within musket shot. They could not ascertain our number, and apprehending that we were an advanced party aiming to draw them into an ambuscade on disadvantageous ground, formed in order of battle and kept their post—while we retired down the mountain. The enemy swore vengeance: and resolved to execute it to day. About nine in the morning they advanced their whole force and posted themselves on an eminence in fair view. Proper stations were taken on our part to receive them. They reconnoitered us a while; but, when orders were given to attack, their Arabs mutinized and retrograded; and the Beys were compelled to follow with their Tripolitans.

June 2d. To day the enemy brought themselves to a resolution to attack. They had previously forced the Arabs into oaths of fidelity by seizing and chaining hostages from their most considerable families: but their movements this day terminated ex-

actly as on the 27th. The Beys attempted to force the Arabs forward. They resisted : and alledged, as on other similar occasions, that they were willing to fight an enemy of their own mode of warfare : but they could not resist the Americans, who fired enormous balls, that carried away a man and his camel at once, or rushed on them with bayonets, without giving them time to load their muskets.

Last evening I had the honor to receive your letter of the nineteenth ultimo, by which I learn, *that the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli, has lately made overtures of peace, which the Consul General, Colonel Lear, has determined to meet ; viewing the present moment propitious to such a step.* In consequence of which, it seems contemplated, that we should withdraw ourselves from this coast. It was an event anticipated in my letter of the first ultimo, that the reigning Bashaw would seize the moment when he should apprehend himself seriously in danger from his brother, to rid himself of this rival by detaching from him our succor, through overtures of peace. Facts establish the correctness of this conjecture. That the inhabitants of Tripoli are *weary of the war* is well ascertained. That they secretly *desire the restoration of their legitimate, sovereign* because they believe him peacably inclined, transpires through various indubitable channels : and that the Arabs and Moors of the kingdom, who form its entire population, are generally in a *revolutionary state* is equally true. Joseph Bashaw is not ignorant of these dispositions. As early as the month of January last he was, according to the Danish Consul, *very attentive upon our transactions with his brother in Alexandria.* On the 19th ultimo, *late overtures* had intimated to the Consul General his inclination towards a pacification. We had then been seventy six days from Alexandria ; thirty five as far forward as Bomba : and twenty one in possession of this place. Of these movements and operations, intercepted communications by way of

Mensurat and Bengazi prove to us the enemy was not uninformed. It is now nineteen days since his forces were beaten on this ground; and since that, detached parties surprized and routed. These are also events which cannot be easily concealed. It does not appear that the season has hitherto permitted any formidable display of our naval force before Tripoli. It cannot be unfair therefore, to infer that the pacific overtures of the reigning Bashaw, are influenced in a great measure by apprehensions of his brothers approach. Yet it seems not to be admited that we have any obligations towards Hamet Bashaw. But if such is the effect of the enemy's apprehensions from this quarter, (who certainly knows how to compare the relative influence of the parties,) the calculations we have formed of the ultimate result of an effectual cooperation should no longer seem *visionary*. I do believe it was in the contemplation of government to have profited of this advantageous circumstance as instrumental to chastise a perfidious foe, rather than to sacrifice a credulous friend. I know it was in the general wish, and indeed the expectations of our country, that the enemy *should be chastised*. How far this wish and expectation will be satisfied, from the arrangements now in operation, time and events must determine. But I cannot, from any shape in which the subject can be viewed, be persuaded that the manner of serving ourselves of Hamet Bashaw, and abandoning him, can be reconciled to those principles of *honor* and *justice*, which I know actuate the national breast. It seems enough to cancel *every pledge* that we have brought him back to the post from which he had been driven. It ought to be taken into consideration that this is no other than the post from whence he has always asked supplies: and that consequently setting him down here, just as he was, can render him no essential service, but to abandon him here under actual circumstances where famine, and the ravages of the enemy's forces have

exhausted the resources of the province, and while those forces are still in the vicinity ; cannot but leave him in a more hopeless situation than he left the place : and here is an additional reason why his means are not *materially altered for the better.* He was driven away on account of his intercourse with the enemies of his rival. He has been induced to return under an expectation of receiving aids from us, to prosecute his views of recovering his throne. I thought myself authorised, from the assurances given me by the Secretary of the navy, to encourage him with the prospect of receiving those aids—and frequent expressions of your resolution to make an example of Tripoli the ensuing summer, fortified me in the confidence that the exercise of my discretion here, in the manner I have done, would eventually, if not directly, assist the accomplishment of these objects. The resistance we met at this place is said to have discouraged, the expectations formed for the co-operations in view. This resistance would undoubtedly have been less obstinate, had not the vicinity of the enemy's camp in some measure imposed, or at least encouraged it. But it may have been expected that the Governor of Joseph Bashaw, who twenty months ago, with forces from Tripoli, drove Hamet Bashaw from the post, and who still held possession, would oppose his return by all the means in his power. *Want of qualities essential in the character of a commander and a prince* is stated *as a serious obstacle to the advancement of his cause.* We do not hitherto find that the enemy possesses those qualities in so eminent a degree, as to justify a comparison to the prejudice of his rival. It must be admitted that the latter possesses the capacity of commanding respect and conciliating affection among his subjects. And I have lately had good reasons to correct the unfavorable opinion at one time entertained of his military enterprise. Yet he is not a General. I never saw but one Turk who, I thought, deserved that character. I am not alone in the o-

pinion. It is a general belief among the gentlemen who have acted with me, that Hamet Bashaw possesses talents sufficient for our purposes. As evidence of this, every one of them is not only willing, but solicitous to pursue the expedition. With such aids as I have mentioned to be thought requisite, we could at once break up the enemy's camp in our front, and open our way, without further considerable impediments, to the gates of Tripoli. The enemy is aware of this; and is endeavoring to outgeneral us. His camp is abroad; of course his defence is weakened at the Capital. The total defeat of his forces here would be a fatal blow to his interests: to recal them would be to abandon the provinces of Derne and Bengazi; but to remove the enemy near him by pacification, he may safely turn all his resources against his rival: and, when once relieved from this danger, we shall again undoubtedly have experiences of his *respect to treaty*. I am suspicious that the Spanish Consul has an influence in Joseph Bashaw's measures. If my recollection serves me, he was accused by our late Consul, Mr. Cathcart, of advising the war. I recollect perfectly well hearing him assert, at Tunis, in December, 1801, that the *Americans miscalculated if they thought of forcing a peace without paying for it.* National shame, perhaps interest, and individual pride, engaged him to favor such an issue of the war: he is said to be the confidential man of the Bashaw. I am afraid one important consideration has been overlooked in the arrangements lately adopted by Mr. Lear: the danger of falling back to an irrecoverable distance; in case of failure of the negociation commenced by him, and at the same time the abandonment of the advantageous ground we hold here: it would certainly have a tendency to unite the kingdom of Tripoli against us, and possibly encourage the whole coast of Barbary to aggression: or, should it even transpire that the evacuation of this post had been recommended, it would certainly have an unfavora-

ble influence on the pending negociation. Another consideration is involved, which cannot but wound the pride of military principles : we must strike the flag of our country here, in presence of an enemy, who have not merited the triumph ; and yield to them the honor of a victory which no encounter hitherto has given them a right to claim nor reason to expect : certainly they, and perhaps the world, will place an unjust construction on this retreat. At any rate it is a retreat ; and a *retreat of Americans !* If individual feeling were alone to be consulted in this situation, it would prefer a manly defeat to this mode of safety. The consequence to our national character would be *more honorable.*

The burthen of expence which must accrue from pursuing the cooperation, seems an insurmountable obstacle. I am apprehensive that the ultimate expence of maintaining a peace with Joseph Bashaw, will be *more burthensome* to the United States, than that accruing from this cooperation : besides it is calculated that this expence *will be reimbursed.* It is insinuated to me that the Consul General is opposed to this measure. It is possible that he may have better information from whence to form an opinion of its issue, than we who have thus far accompanied the expedition; but it is not probable. Has he any agency in the *war* ?—I cannot but still indulge the hope that additional instructions from government will arrive in season to enable you to furnish the means of prosecuting the cooperation to effect, of chastising the temerity of our enemy, and of preventing the melancholy and disagreable events, which present appearances threaten.—You would weep, sir, were you on the spot, to witness the unbounded confidence placed in the American character here, and to reflect that this confidence must shortly sink into contempt and immortal hatred : you would feel that this confidence, at any price, should be carried through the Barbary Regencies, at least to Tripoli, by the same means that it has been inspired here. But, if no fur-

ther aids come to our assistance, and we are compelled to leave the place under its actual circumstances, humanity itself must weep : the whole city of Derne, together with numerous families of Arabs, who attached themselves to Hamet Bashaw, and who resisted Joseph's troops in expectation of succor from us, must be abandoned to their fate : havoc and slaughter will be the inevitable consequence : not a soul of them can escape the savage vengeance of the enemy. In proceeding, therefore, thus far and no farther, instead of lending aids to the unfortunate people whom we use as allies, and of whose situation we are actually profiting to our own exclusive benefit, we involve them in destruction ! Could I have apprehended this result of my exertions, certainly no consideration would have prevailed on me to have taken an agency in a tragedy so manifestly fraught with *intrigue :* so wounding to human feelings ; and as I must view it, so *degrading to our national honor.*

It is impossible, though enjoined on me, to say any thing farther to Hamet Bashaw of the *Squadron cooperating with him*, after having been officially informed, that a negociation is opened with his brother, without so far considering his situation as to have agreed on a cessation of arms. The delusion is already carried too far. If it had not been our intention to support him, or at least to save him, both honor and religion should have forbidden any encouragement to, or use of him. It is said some provisions will be attempted in his favor in our peace stipulations ; this is, however, to be left to convenience. But before this provision be definitely arranged, if at all, and information of it received here, no armistice being agreed on, and this post deserted by us, both himself and adherents may be cut in pieces by the enemy's army here, and by such of his own party as disappointment and rage will carry over to them.

Viewing the present posture of affairs therefore, either as elegible to our national honor and interests, or the situation of the Bashaw and people here, I consider it due to the confidence of government and a bond imposed by all the injunctions of humanity, to endeavor to hold this post to the last moment, in hopes that some happy occurrence may take place to secure our own and at the same time to assist the interests of our friends ; and I most devoutly pray heaven, that the blood of innocence may not stain the footsteps of us who have aimed only to fight the enemies of our country.

June 3d. The enemy feinted another attack today by sending a detachment on the back of the town, which was repelled with loss. Their object seemed to aim at ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants of the place ; these turned out to a man in view of them. Their main body halted at a safe distance : and after some manoeuvering retired to their camp. During the alarm, a detachment from the garrison, under command of Lieut. O'Bannon passed through town. Every body, age and childhood, even women from their recluses shouted, " Live the Americans ! Long live our friends and protectors !" Hapless beings ! If they could descry the reverse that probably awaits them, how justly would their acclamations of confidence be turned to execrations !

June 5th. This morning a spy, a religious chief, whom I had employed to watch the enemy's motions, and who last night slept in their camp, reports that a courier arrived yesterday, eleven days from Tripoli, with dispatches from the reigning Bashaw, to his Commander in Chief in this vicinity, stating his intentions of concluding a peace with the United States, which he was resolved to carry into effect, *even if he sold his wardrobe !* After which he should know how to dispose of his *internal* enemies. He enjoined it on the commander to hold his position before this town, if possible, till the issue of this project of peace should be known. The Mirabout chief added

that the Beys had it in contemplation to propose an armistice to me. I shall meet such an overture, if it should be offered, until I receive further advice from head quarters.

Eleven o'clock, A. M. This morning came in two deserters from the enemy's camp, both Levant Turks, Ismien and Mahamet, a Choux and a Cheriff, corresponding with the rank of Aid du Camp and Ensign, who confirm the information before stated; and add that the Beys cannot prevail on their troops to attack this place under our battery, and guns of the shipping; but that they calculate on sacking the city, the moment we evacuate our posts. These officers put themselves under the protection of the American flag, giving this reason for reference that they wished to get out of the kingdom of Tripoli, and thought this a favorable occasion. They say Joseph Bashaw has about two hundred soldiers in Tripoli, in whom he can place confidence, and three or four hundred others, who are undisciplined and suspected. They declare that the people in general of the kingdom expect with solicitude and impatience the approach of Hamet Bashaw, as they think him a good man, and are weary of the madness and violence of his brother.

Five o'clock, P. M. This afternoon an Arabic chief, Ab'd'el Selim, with a party of warriors came over to us: he brings a message from the principal Arab chief at camp, that he will come over to the Bashaw with his cavalry, amounting to about one hundred and fifty, if he can have assurances that the Americans will not abandon him, in which case Joseph Bashaw would devour his family and lands. This chief asserts that the Bey of Bengazi, who is with the camp, is well disposed towards us; and only waits the arrival of our supplies to declare himself.

Be assured, Sir, we only want cash and a few marines to proceed to Tripoli, and to meet you in the citadel of that piratical kennel for the liberation of

our captives. It would only occasion a delay of their release a few months, their triumph will amply compensate this delay.

It is thought proper to dispatch the Hornet with these communications, and hold ground here until your answer can be received.

June 9th. Day before yesterday, Hodge Ismain Bey, the second in command of the enemy's army here, deserted with a few attendants and camels, took off the military chest and entered the desert for upper Egypt. This defection is said to have been caused by his being charged with bad generalship in the affair of the 13th ultimo. He commanded the cavalry.

June 11th. Yesterday morning the enemy, having received fresh reinforcements of Arabs, appeared in great numbers on the heights which overlook the town; and moved along the site of the mountain for the space of two or three miles, apparently in search of some avenue to descend without being exposed to our cannon, but seemed irresolute. An accident brought on an engagement. The declivity of the mountain is a steep and uneven ledge of rocks, with only one pass where cavalry can move down; and this about two miles and a half from the town. The plain below bordering on the sea about one mile in depth is calcarious rock and red earth, very broken; in many places of which the brass twelves could take effect, in others, impeded by ridges near the shore. About half way between the town and the pass of the mountain the Bashaw had posted a few cavalry to serve as videts. A detachment of the enemy, of superior numbers, descended the pass with a view of cutting off this post; but they were manfully resisted and repelled. Reinforcements of small parties joined, and continued to join, on one side and the other, till about two o'clock, when the action became general. We were little more than spectators of the scene. The Argus, as often as the enemy were uncovered from the ridges, galled them with her shot from her

long twelves; (the 24 lb. cannonades could not reach) and we occasionally brought one of our field pieces to bear on them from our advanced battery: but the fire of the Hornet was lost by reason of her being too near the shore, the high bluff of which covered the enemy. Captain Hull, who had the fairest opportunity of ascertaining it, judges there were five thousand men on the field. The engagement lasted four hours: though frequently charged the Bashaw lost not an inch of ground. At length the enemy gave way, and were pursued quite to the pass of the mountain, where a regard to safety compelled many of them to quit their horses, which fell into the hands of our friends. This action, though fought in the Barbary manner, was conducted judiciously on the part of the Bashaw, and the victory was decidedly his. The number of his killed and wounded is between fifty and sixty: among the latter four of his principal officers. Some Arab women who came in from the enemy's camp this morning, say the Beys lost between forty and fifty killed, and upwards of seventy wounded. If we could have furnished but two hundred bayonets to assist a charge and cut the pass of the mountain, not a horse should have escaped. Mr. O'Bannon was impatient to lead his marines and the Greeks, (about thirty eight in number) to the scene of action. This could not be done without leaving our post too defenceless in case of a reverse: besides, I confess, I had doubts whether the measures lately adopted by our commissioner of peace would justify me in acting offensively any longer in this quarter. *Had the aids come forward seasonably, which we hoped to receive here, we might now have been at Cape Mensurat, and in fifteen days more at Tripoli.* Head winds have detained the Hornet, and a gale last night took the Argus to sea: as soon as she returns Captain Evans will be dispatched to head quarters.

I have communicated, some days since, such parts of the contents of your letter of the nineteenth ultimo

as concern him to Hamet Bashaw. He answers, that, even with supplies, it would be fruitless for him to attempt to prosecute the war with his brother after you shall have withdrawn your squadron from the coast; but without supplies he must be left in a most forlorn situation; for he can command no resources here, nor can he place any faith in provisions which may be stipulated with his brother in his favor, unless guaranteed by the United States. He emphatically says that *to abandon him here is not to have cooperated with him, but with his rival!* He wishes us to take him off in case of a peace. I am extremely anxious to learn the issue of the negociation.

Mean time, I have the honor to be,
with great respect and consideration,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

SAMUEL BARRON, ESQ. *Commander in chief of the United States forces in the Mediterranean.*

On board the United States frigate Constellation, off Derne, June 13th. 1805.

EXTRACT: to COMMODORE RODGERS, then in COMMAND of the SQUADRON.

SIR,

AT six o'clock, P. M. of the eleventh instant, Capt. Campbell anchored in this road; at eight, sent off Lieut. Wedersrandt with your letter of the sixth, and Col. Lear's of the fifth, announcing the conclusion of peace with Joseph Bashaw of Tripoli, and, consequently, requiring me to evacuate this post; and the next morning a letter from his own hand, advising me that his ship would receive my garrison. About nine o'clock the Captain came on shore, attended by a few of his officers, whom I accompanied into town. I now communicated to the

Bashaw the news of peace on our part with his brother; and the convention, that his family should be restored to him on condition of his quietly withdrawing himself from the kingdom. He said he had no safety but in leaving the country with us; and even this would be impossible with him and hazardous to us if the project should transpire before carried into effect: despair would drive his adherents to revenge and we must fall victims to it. I consequently kept up the idea of an attack on the enemy, an idea which had been excited from a report that reinforcements had come out in the frigate for this purpose; and accordingly sent ammunition and extra rations to be distributed among our Moorish and Arab troops, and dispatched spies to ascertain the enemy's position. With the same apparent view I inspected the garrison; ordered them to be divested of all heavy baggage; and to be held at their post in readiness to advance at the word. At eight in the evening I placed patroles of marines to stop intercourse between the town and our post; this was a usual precaution at this hour, with only the difference that on ordinary occasions this duty was done by rotine. In the mean time all the Constellation's boats were laid along side our wharf. I ordered the Captain of cannoniers to embark his company with the field pieces and a ten inch howitzer which fell into our hands on the 27th April; and after them the Greek company. This was executed with silence and alacrity; but with astonishment. The marines remained at their posts. When the boats were seen returning I sent a messenger to the Bashaw requesting an interview. Understanding the purport of this message, he immediately repaired to the fort with his retinue; dismounted, and embarked in the boats. The marines followed with the American officers. When all were securely off, I stepped into a small boat which I had retained for the purpose, and had just time to save my distance when the shore, our camp, and the battery, were crowded with

the distracted soldiery and populace; some calling on the Bashaw; some on me; some uttering shrieks; some execrations! Finding we were out of reach, they fell upon our tents and horses, which were left standing; carried them off, and prepared themselves for flight. My garrison, together with the Bashaw and suit, were all on board the Constellation about two in the morning. Before break of day our Arabs were all off to the mountains, and with them such of the inhabitants of the town as had means to fly, taking away with them, every living animal fit for subsistence or burthen which belonged to the place. This morning a Chaux from Tripoli, who came out in the frigate, went on shore under a flag of truce, and carried letters of amnesty from Joseph Bashaw to the people of Derne on condition of their returning to allegiance. He stated, on his return, that nothing but despair depicted itself in the visages of the few wretched inhabitants who remained; that they rejected Joseph Bashaw's terms of pardon, declaring that they knew his perfidy too well to suffer themselves to be ensnared by it; and that they were resolved to defend themselves to the last moment from their terraces and walls of their houses against his troops. It is to be hoped the position they have taken may terminate in an accommodation and save the tragedy that menaces them. It is now twelve o'clock, and we see no symptoms of the enemy's troops advancing towards the town. This, however, may be accounted for on other principles than those of humanity or arrangement. On the arrival of the Constellation, the idea impressed itself on them also, that she brought troops and supplies; in consequence of which, they decamped disorderly and retired with precipitation to a post fifteen miles in the rear towards the desert: it is possible they may not yet have heard of our evacuation. In a few minutes more we shall lose sight of this devoted city, which has experienced as strange a reverse in so short a time as ever was recorded in the disas-

ters of war ; thrown from proud success and elated prospects into an abyss of hopeless wretchedness. Six hours ago the enemy were seeking safety from them by flight ; this moment we drop them from ours into the hands of their enemy, for no other crime but too much confidence in us !

The man, whose fortune we have accompanied thus far, experiences a reverse as striking. He falls from the most flattering prospects of a *kingdom*, to *beggary !*

COL. LEAR to GEN. EATON.

Tripoli, in Barbary, June 6th, 1805.

SIR,

IN consequence of a representation made to me by Commodore Barron, that the present was a favorable moment for us to enter into a negociation with the Bashaw of Tripoli, and my instructions leaving it to the judgment of the Commander of our forces in this sea, to determine the proper time for such an attempt, I repaired off this place on the 26th ultimo, in the United States frigate, Essex, and immediately opened a communication with the Bashaw. His demands were 200,000 dollars for peace and ransom, and the delivery, on our part, of all the Tripolines in our possession, and a restoration of all their property. These terms were at once rejected in toto ; and after some discussion, I proposed, as the ultimatum, that a mutual delivery of prisoners should take place, and as he had a balance of more than two hundred in his favor, I would give him 60,000 dollars for them ; but not a cent for peace, which should be made on terms of the most favored nation with whom he has a treaty, and a regulation respecting prisoners, if a future war should take place between our nations. And, in order to prevent any fruitless altercation, I declared I would not go on shore to complete the business until these terms were formally acceded to. The

weather proving bad, for the season, obliged our vessels to keep off and prevented a regular communication with the shore, which protracted the completion of the preliminaries till the 3d inst. when they were sent off to me with the Bashaw's seal. I immediately went on shore, and in 24 hours all the officers and crew of the late frigate Philadelphia, were sent on board the ships.

I found that the heroic bravery of our few Countrymen at Derne, and the idea that we had a large force and immense supplies at that place, had made a deep impression on the Bashaw. I kept up that idea, and endeavored, from thence, to make an arrangement favorable to his brother, who, although not found to be the man whom many had supposed, was yet entitled to some consideration from us. But I found that this was impracticable, and that, if persisted in, would drive him into measures which might prove fatal to our countrymen in his power. I therefore engaged, of course, that on the conclusion of peace, we should withdraw all our forces and supplies from Derne and other parts of his dominions, and the Bashaw engages, that if his brother withdraws himself quietly from his dominions, his wife and family shall be restored to him. This is all that could be done, and I have no doubt but the United States will, if deserving, place him in a situation as eligible as that in which he was found.

I presume that long before this reaches you, (if it should find you at Derne) you will have received Commodore Barron's letters by the sloop Hornet, which convey his sentiments and instructions fully on this subject. In consequence of a continuance of his ill health, he has resigned the command of our Squadron in this sea, to John Rodgers, Esq. the officer next in seniority to himself, who sends from this place the United States frigate, Constellation, Capt. Campbell, with this letter and his dispatches.

The Bashaw has requested that a Chous may be permitted to go in the frigate to Derne, who will not

land; but merely send on shore letters from the Bashaw, and return in the frigate to the port to which she may be destined.

I pray you will accept yourself, and present to Mr. O'Bannon, and our brave countrymen with you, my sincere congratulations on an event which your and their heroic bravery has tended to render so honorable to our country.

With consideration and esteem,
I have the honor to be,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
TOBIAS LEAR.
Commissioner of the United States, for negociating a peace with the Bashaw of Tripoli.

EXTRACT to the SECRETARY of the NAVY.

Syracuse, July 6th, 1805.

I HAVE the honor to inclose herewith, copies of my communications to the Commodores since I left Egypt. By the next occasion shall give the correspondence.

I cannot but think our pacification has been too much precipitated. Was it contemplated that so *formidable a squadron* should be sent into this sea to *negociate* without *showing itself* before the enemy's port? Such is the *fact!* If it had only appeared off the place, I have no doubt the effect would have been a peace *without money.* If it had gone into vigorous cooperations, Joseph Bashaw must have *resigned at discretion,* or *saved himself by flight:* he was calculating more on this than on *defence.* But we have peace!

The whole expence of my expedition in cash amounts to $39,108 58 cents, payment of troops included. As soon as I can effect a full settlement, my accounts will be transmitted. It will be necessary to negociate bills on your department, in order to enable me to do this, to the amount of $7,082 58.

[*In order to give the reader the grounds of disagreement between* GEN. EATON, *and* COM. BARRON, *and* MR. LEAR, *the following letters and extracts are submitted. The reader will particularly attend to the dates, and the secret verbal orders of* COM. BARRON, *the original of which is attested in the hand writing of* Capt. HULL, and Gen. EATON.]

Verbal orders of Commodore BARRON, to Captain HULL, of the UNITED STATES brig Argus, in presence of the Undersigned, on board the PRESIDENT.

Sept. 15th, 1804.

SIR,

THE *written* orders, I here hand you to proceed to the port of Alexandria or Smyrna for the purpose of convoying to Malta any vessels you may find there, are intended to disguise the real object of your expedition; which is to proceed with MR. EATON to Alexandria in search of Hamet Bashaw, the rival brother and legitimate Sovereign of the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli; and to convey him and his suit to Derne or such other place on the coast as may be determined the most proper for cooperating with the naval force under my command against the common enemy: or, *if more agreeable to him, to bring him to me before Tripoli.*

Should Hamet Bashaw not be found at Alexandria, you have the discretion to proceed to any other place for him where the safety of your ship can be, in your opinion, relied upon.

The Bashaw may be assured of the support of my squadron at Bengazi or Derne; where you are at liberty to put in, if required, and if it can be done without too great risque. And you may assure him also that I will take the most effectual measures with the forces under my command for cooperating with

him against the usurper, his brother; *and for reestablishing him in the regency of Tripoli.* Arrangements to this effect with him are confided to the discretion with which MR. EATON is vested by the Government.

Attest. { ISAAC HULL, WILLIAM EATON.

EXTRACT from the instructions of the NAVY DEPARTMENT to COMMODORE BARRON, communicated by BARRON to EATON.

"WITH respect to the Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli, we have no objection to your availing yourself of his cooperation with you against Tripoli, if you shall, upon a full view of the subject after your arrival upon the station, consider his cooperations expedient. The subject is committed entirely to your discretion. In such an event, you will, it is believed, find Mr. EATON extremely useful to you. (The sum appropriated to this object $20,000")

☞ This line inclosed in the parenthesis is not in the Commodore's instructions. *Note by* EATON.

EXTRACTS from COM. BARRON to GEN. EATON.

Malta, March 22d, 1805.

I CANNOT but applaud the energy and perseverance that has characterized your progress through a series of perplexing and discouraging difficulties, to the attainment of the object of your research; an attainment which I am disposed to consider as a *fair presage of future success.* On receipt of these communications, I did not lose a moment in making the necessary arrangements for sending you succors, and I now dispatch the Argus brig, with the sloop under her convoy, carrying a variety of stores and provisions according to the ac-

companying list. Capt. Hull will shape his course direct for Bomba where he calculates on finding you with the Bashaw and his army, and where he supposes you will make a stand. I have directed him to deliver these stores to you, to be applied as your discretion may direct. He has also under his charge a sum in specie amounting to seven thousand dollars, which is likewise to be placed at your disposal. By the time these vessels establish a communication with you, you will have been enabled to form a correct opinion as to the prospect of *ultimate success ;* and thence to estimate the advantages likely to result to our affairs from this cooperation ; and by this opinion you must be governed in the application of the succors. Should you have encountered unexpected difficulties which place the chances of success upon more than precarious grounds, your own prudence will suggest the propriety of not committing these supplies and the money uncontroledly to the power of the Bashaw. Indeed in the point of view in which I regard the measures already pursued as well as the subject of cooperation generally, I conceive you ought to tread with the utmost circumspection.

You must be sensible Sir, that in giving their sanction to a cooperation with the exiled Bashaw, government did not contemplate the measure as leading necessarily and absolutely to a reinstatement of that Prince in his rights on the Regency of Tripoli : they appear to have viewed the cooperation in question as a means, which, provided there existed energy and enterprise in the Exile, and attachment to his person on the part of his former subjects, might be employed to the common furtherance and advantage of his claims and of our cause, but without meaning to fetter themselves by any specific or definite attainment *as an end*, as the tenor of my instructions (whereof inclosed is an extract) and the limited sum appropriated for that special purpose, clearly demonstrate. I fear by the Convention you

were about to enter into with Hamet, and by the complexion of other measures that a wider range may have been taken than is consistent with the powers vested in me for that particular object.

The consequences involved in such an engagement cannot but strike you forcibly, and a general view of our situation in relation to the reigning Bashaw, and our unfortunate countrymen in Tripoli, will be sufficient to mark its inexpediency. I shall consider it my duty, as it certainly is my inclination, to afford you every aid compatible with the authority vested in me, and commensurate with the means placed at my disposal; and you may *depend upon* the *most active and vigorous support from the* SQUADRON, as soon as the season and our arrangements will permit us to appear in force before the enemy's walls; but I wish you to understand, that no guarantee or engagement to the exiled Prince, whose cause, I repeat it, we are only favoring as the instrument to an attainment, and not in itself an object, must be held to stand in the way of our acquiescence to any honorable and advantageous terms of accommodation which the present Bashaw may be induced to propose.

It is impossible for me to comply with your requisition for one hundred marines to be sent to the coast. Such a step in the present posture of affairs, far exceeds my powers; and, besides, we are in *want of hands*,* I could not feel myself justifiable in detaching so considerable force from the squadron.

I should be wanting in justice to you Sir, as well as to the officers who have thus far shared your toils and dangers, were I not to express my full reliance upon your courage, energy and perseverance, as well as my ardent desire that your most sanguine expectations may be realized. The observations which I here convey to you are far from being intended to *cool your zeal*, or *discourage your expectations*, but they are what I conceive it necessary to make,

* For what?

and drawn from me by the purest feeling of duty; and as such, permit me to recommend them to your calm and candid consideration, and request you will make them the subject of conversation with Captain Hull, who is fully possessed of my sentiments. As in enterprizes similar to that in which you are engaged, much is left to fortune, so also, much is dependent on the *operation of circumstances*. Hence the impropriety of *tying you down with positive instructions*. Many things must necessarily occur, in which your judgment and discretion alone can be your guide: and indeed your further proceedings will depend so completely upon events and circumstances, impossible for me to estimate or foresee, that I must consider myself rather as *your counsellor* than *your director*.

COM. BARRON to GEN. EATON

Malta, May 19, 1805.

SIR,

BY the Hornet sloop, which arrived in this harbor on the 16th inst. (having had a tedious passage,) I had the honor to receive your dispatches of the 29th ultimo and 1st inst. announcing the capture of Derne, after a contest, in which, permit me to observe, that your conduct and that of your companions in arms will not discredit the character which our countrymen have established among the nations of Barbary.

I have perused with deserved attention the arguments and reasons adduced in your letter of the 1st, on the subject of pursuing the cooperation with Sidi Hamet Bashaw. Being myself still too weak for the exertion of letter writing, and my secretary writing with difficulty, owing to an inflamation in his eyes, it is impossible for me to enter into a lengthy reply; nor does it indeed appear necessary; the business is now arrived at that point, where if the Ex-Bashaw, after being put in possession of Derne, his

former government and the district in which his interest is said to be the most powerful, has not in himself energy and talent, and is so destitute of means and resourses, as not to be able to move on with successful progress, seconded by our naval force acting on the coast, he must be held as unworthy of further support, and the cooperation as a measure too expensive and burthensome, and too little pregnant with hope or advantage, to justify its farther prosecution; for, whatever, Sir, may have been once the intentions of government on this subject, and whatever your ideas touching those intentions, I feel that I have already gone to the full extent of my authority. My instructions from the navy department on this particular point with which you are not unacquainted, fall very short of that unlimited discretion and power of application as relates to funds insisted on in your communications, and are totally silent with regard to the quantity and description of stores and supplies which you mention to have been in the contemplation of government to furnish to the Bashaw; hence you will be sensible that without taking a latitude that must involve me in a sum of responsability, which it were the extreme of imprudence and rashness to encounter, I cannot proceed further. Independent of this consideration it may not be improper to state that I have not at my disposal funds sufficient to meet the large sums which according to your calculations would be required to pursue the plan with effect.

With respect to any engagements to Sidi Hamet, I cannot consider them as definite or specific. By our resources and by your enterprize and valor we have placed him at the post from whence he was driven when first he solicited the aid and support of our arms, and in "the most valuable province of Tripoli:" in performing which, I conceive we have fulfiled every pledge, and that he can neither charge us with bad faith in our engagements or with injustice towards himself. This want of those qualities

so essential in the character of a commander, and especially to a Prince, contending for his throne, is a serious obstacle to the advancement of his cause; not to be surmounted even by the existence and manly exertion of them in those about his person. But it is certainly what we had no right to anticipate and still less to suppose, that when master of the finest province in his kingdom, where his influence is greatest and his adherents most numerous, "his situation would not be materially altered," and himself as destitute of means to carry on the contest as when brought from his exile in Egypt. In short, Sir, the matter reduces itself to this: We are ready and willing to support the the Bashaw by an union of operations on the coast so long as the war with Tripoli continues, but his Excellency must be explicitly informed that our supplies of money, arms and provisions are at an end and that he must now depend upon his own resources and exertions. This determination will suggest to you and your comrades that line of conduct most prudent to be adopted in the present posture of affairs. I have lost no time in dispatching the Hornet with a supply of provisions for the crews of the Argus and Nautilus, and the Christians under your command, and I hope she will arrive in time to prevent your suffering from want.

I have now to acquaint you with an occurrence in our affairs interesting in itself and momentous as relates to your situation. In consequence of recent advices from Tripoli, I have thought it my duty to state to the Consul General, Col. Lear, (now at this place) my candid opinion that the present is a moment highly favorable to treat for peace and a communication has just been handed me from that gentleman expressing his determination to meet the overtures lately made by the reigning Bashaw, so far as to found on it the commencement of a negociation, and to proceed to Tripoli in the Essex Frigate, in the course of this week. From a variety of concurring circumstances the present period appears propitious

to such a step; and I cannot help indulging sanguine hopes that a very short time will restore Capt. Bainbridge and his unfortunate comrades to freedom and their country. It would be needless for me to say any thing on the effect which this measure must needs have on your situation and determinations: it is a measure which was anticipated in my letter to you by Capt. Hull, and as such the intelligence of it will not I presume reach you unprepared. The interests of Sidi Hamet will not be overlooked: it is with Col. Lear's express sanction that I mention his intention to endeavor at stipulating some conditions for the unfortunate Exile, provided this can be done without giving up points that are essential, and without any considerable sacrifice of national advantage on our part.

I have sent by Lieut. Evans 2000 Spanish dollars which he is directed to deliver to you or to Capt. Hull, this sum will serve to extinguish any little engagements you may have contracted at Derne.

I am extremely anxious for further intelligence from you and remain with much respect and consideration,

Sir, your most obedient
and humble servant,
SAMUEL BARRON.

United States Brig, Argus.
Derne, June 4th, 1805.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to inclose you a copy of my orders by the Hornet, Lieut. Evans, from Samuel Barron, Esq. Commander in chief of the United States Squadron in the Mediterranean, by which you will be informed that the United States' vessels under my command are to leave this coast for Syracuse as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made for that purpose.

I have therefore to inform you that the Argus and Hornet are ready for sea and in readiness to receive you and the men under your command on board at any moment that you inform me of your intentions to abandon your post, and a favorable opportunity offers to take you off.

I am Sir, as always,
yours sincerely,
ISAAC HULL.

WILLIAM EATON, ESQ.

Derne, June 5th, 1805.

SIR,

I THINK the tenure of this post so important to the issue of the negociation now pending between the United States and the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli, that I cannot reconcile it to a sense of duty to evacuate it, except compelled by imperious circumstances, until the result of that negociation be known, or further advices received from the Commander in chief of the United States Squadron in the Mediterranean. I shall therefore wait a reasonable time for the return of the Nautilus, which is daily expected from head quarters.

I am, &c.
WILLIAM EATON.

CAPT. ISAAC HULL.

United States Frigate, Constitution,
off Tripoli, June 5th, 1805.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH I do not expect this will find you at Derne, conceiving you have evacuated that place agreeable to Commodore Barron's last advices to you by the United States sloop Hornet, yet as it is not impossible some unforeseen circumstance may have delayed your compliance with his advices, I have thought it advisable to send the Constellation,

Capt. H. G. Campbell, to apprize you of peace having been concluded between the United States and the Joseph Bashaw of Tripoli on the 3d inst. and have to desire that no farther hostilities by the forces of the United States be committed against the said Joseph Bashaw, his subjects, or dominions, and that you evacuate and withdraw our forces from Derne, or whatever part of his territory this may find you agreeable to the enclosed articles of stipulation between Tobias Lear, Esq. Consul General for Algiers, and Commissioner of peace on the part of the United States and the said Joseph Bashaw of Tripoli.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
your obedient servant,
JOHN RODGERS.
Commanding, in chief, the United States Squadron in the Mediterranean.

WILLIAM EATON, ESQ. *Derne.*

TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES.

At sea, Mediterranean, August 9th, 1805.

SIR,

I HAVE now the honor herewith to forward copies of the correspondences promised in my letter of 6th ultimo. A view of the transactions and the circumstances in which these correspondences originated, give rise to some remarks and observations which I shall submit with candor and frankness.

When it was determined by Commodore Barron to cooperate with Hamet Bashaw, though the Commodore then expressed his doubts concerning an implied discretion in your instructions for applications of supplies to this object, no idea was suggested of making this cooperation an instrument only to the

attainment of peace with the reigning Bashaw of Tripoli : nothing was then talked of but chastisement. The examples of Commodore Preble, then recent and conspicuous, inspired the relieving squadron with an ambition and a confidence, equalled only by their patriotism ; insomuch that it seemed to be regretted the space of a winter must intervene before they could be brought to the theatre of action. Peace was avowedly an object secondary to national honor and individual applause : of course every measure was adopted and every mean embraced, which seemed to favor those primary objects ; and the earliest occasion of the ensuing season was to give an imposing lesson to the furtive pride of Barbary. With these impressions Commodore Preble returned home under engagements with his successor to give his influence with the government for hastening forward such additional aids as the expedition would require ; and with the same impressions I was sent to Egypt, with entire discretion of using means to bring Hamet Bashaw on the rear of the enemy. Commodore Preble executed his commission with the exactness and dispatch which mark his character ; and I have the consciousness of not having been indolent in my endeavors to acquit myself of the trust confided to me. Both from one quarter and the other, measures succeeded beyond the calculation of the most sanguine expectation. And never did a season for decisive operations open with more flattering prospects of success than this in which it has been determined that a flag of truce, instead of our squadron, should be displayed to the enemy's view. The result is well known—but it is so foreign to what we calculated here—and to what, it is believed, was expected by the government and people of the United States that apologies are sought to parry the censure and do away the disappointment to which this result cannot but give birth. Among these subterfuges I am charged of having *gone too far*—of having *exceeded the intentions of govern-*

ment—and of having *shaped to myself projects the end of which could not be foreseen.*

If finding out the object of my researches and moving understandingly with him against the enemy be to exceed the intentions of government, I may have gone too far. Admitting this, I have not penetration enough to comprehend how it could have obstructed offensive operations in other quarters. As to *projects* none were new shaped, on my part, after I left head quarters : but at what period the project took shape of resting the whole expectations of our country on the instrumentality of the hapless Hamet Bashaw for the attainment of peace, I know not ; presume, however, it was not till Commodore Barron dispaired of recovering his health in season for activity, and not until a man, who had no authorized agency in the war, had intruded himself into his confidence and gained an ascendency over his resolutions. The line of conduct pursued at head quarters, and the communications from that quarter to the coast, establish the fact that such a project had superceded our original plans ; and the event proves it to have been carried into effect.

In the Commodore's letter to Hamet Bashaw dated Malta, 21st March, he expresses himself—

" With great satisfaction I have received from Mr. Eaton the intelligence of your junction with him, and of the measures you had adopted to commence your march towards Derne." &c.

" No sooner did I receive this intelligence than I made every exertion to collect the succors required in your letter." &c.—

Here is not only an explicit and clear sanction to all we had done, but also an unequivocal assurance of dispositions made on the part of the Commodore to furnish the succors required by Hamet Bashaw's letter for prosecuting a plan of cooperation. But these succors were what the Bashaw had always required. If therefore I should, from any inducement, have carried a different language to him how

justly might he have suspected me of a disposition to raise impediments to his progress ; and more especially as the whole tenor of the Commodore's letter goes to encourage his expectations? If the Commodore requires me to become the interpreter of this letter, how inconsistent, nay how treacherous would he make himself and me appear by translating also another from his own hand clearly expressing his real intentions to be only to lead the Bashaw forward as an *instrument !* I could not but hope that returning strength, or some candid adviser would restore the Commodore to resolutions more worthy of his own and the dignity of his country.

On the day next succeeding the date of his letter from the same place the Commodore writes me.

" I cannot but applaud the energy and perseverance that has characterized your progress through a series of perplexing and discouraging difficulties to the attainment of the object of your research—an attainment which I am disposed to consider as a fair presage to future success—"

Success in what? The cooperation ! In what manner? This is explained by the Commodore's reiterated resolution to withhold his sanction from any specific or definite engagement with Hamet Bashaw, and by his unqualified confession of *our views* in favoring the cause of the *exiled Prince as an instrument only to the attainment of an object ;* that this object is a separate peace with his rival ; and that, this object obtained, we would withdraw from him our succor.—

Struck himself with the discouraging and dishonorable conditions here imposed of what he calls a *cooperation,* he adds by way of injunction—

" You will not however conclude that these considerations, important and necessary as they are, ought to induce us at once to abandon the benefits which the measures you have adopted seem to promise." &c.

Benefits were already anticipated from the measures we had thus far pursued ; and the plain construction of this and the following periods of the same letter enjoins it on me to persevere in those measures ; and by way of encouragement, the Commodore pledges himself to give us *the most active and vigorous support from his squadron so soon as the season and arrangements would permit him to appear in force before the enemy's walls*—and, in case of our successful progress, to give the Bashaw " Every support by a systematic union of operations so as to enable him to come on the rear of the enemy—"

We did persevere—and our success, considering the obstacles we had to encounter and the means afforded to overcome them, exceeded our calculations. What then became of *the most active and vigorous support of the squadron ; and systematic union of operations ?* The instant the effect of our successes discovered itself, through the alarmed solicitude of the enemy, a messenger of peace is sent to meet the overtures of the panic struck Joseph Bashaw, and to bid him be under no apprehensions ; while our too credulous ally is sacrificed to a policy at the recollection of which honor recoils and humanity bleeds.

" I am" says the Commodore " too unwell to write with my own hand". It was needless for him to add this ; it was easily perceivable by the drift and composition of the communication : there is no feature of Barron's manly soul to be traced in it. It is the work of a Machiavelian commissioner, into whose influence the Commodore had yielded his mind through the infirmity of bodily weakness. It is a well known fact, that at this period, he had been nearly six months unable to remain on shipboard, and so debilitated by a painful and wasting illness, that he scarcely retained the remembrance of occurrences from day to day. This commissioner, in order to take advantage of that circumstance, affected to be averse to peace, and an advocate for exempla-

ry measures. The sequel will show a specimen of his sincerity. It is only proper to observe here, that though the instructions of the Secretary of the navy left an *entire* discretion in the Commodore, concerning the cooperation in view, Mr. Lear confirmed him in his doubts, that the discretion to act and to apply the means of acting were distinct; and that the sum appropriated to this object was limited to $ 20,000—Evidence, nevertheless, that government had calculated upon it.

On the 23d March, the Commodore, in his instructions to Capt. Hull, states,——

"As you will perceive by my letter to MR. EATON, I have left the application of these succors and consequently the responsibility wholly to him, which I conceive proper, as well on account of his having the chief direction of the land operations, as that by the time you arrive on the coast he will have it in his power to form a just estimate of the chances of success, and thence how far it is safe and expedient to pursue the object."

I revert to this clause in the Commodore's instruction to Capt. Hull, to corroborate what my former communications stated—that an understanding subsisted between the commander in chief and myself, that I should go forward and exercise discretionary measures for bringing Hamet Bashaw forward with all his influence in order to intercept supplies to the enemy from the country, and to cut off his escape in the rear. Mr. Lear has misrepresented this fact at Malta, and elsewhere.

Though the communications which came forward from the Commodore by Capt. Hull, and which were delivered me at Bomba, were extremely discouraging, I could find nothing in them which would justify an abandonment, on my part, of the expedition thus far conducted. But after we had gained possession of Derne, and still more so after having beaten the enemy's army in that province and opened our way to the gates of Tripoli, I could not but hope the Com-

modore would take confidence from those successes and be animated to push his operations by a *systematic union.* What then ought to have been my astonishment to receive, on the 1st June, his letter of 19th May, containing the following periods.

"If the Bashaw, after having been put in possession of Derne, his former government and the district in which his interest is said to be most powerful, has not in himself energy and talent, and is so destitute of means and resources as not to be able to move on with successful progress, seconded by our naval force acting on the coast, he must be held unworthy of further support, and the cooperation as a measure too expensive and too little pregnant with hope and advantage to justify its further prosecution."

"In short, Sir, the matter reduces itself to this. We are ready and willing to support the Bashaw by an union of operations on the coast so long as the war with Tripoli continues, but his Excellency must be explicitly informed that our supplies of money, arms, and provision are at an end, and that he must now depend on his own resources and exertions."

"In consequence of recent advices from Tripoli, I have thought it my duty to state to the Consul General, Col. Lear, (now at this place) my candid opinion that the present is a moment highly favorable to treat of peace; and a communication has just been handed me from that gentleman expressing his determination to meet the overtures of the reigning Bashaw, so far as to found on it the commencement of a negociation, and to proceed to Tripoli in the Essex frigate in the course of the week. From a variety of concurring circumstances the present period appears propitious to such a step."

This letter labors ingeniously to find some pretext for deserting Hamet Bashaw at the very moment we profit of his operations and his influence to secure peace to ourselves.—But the ingenuity of the piece is not sufficient to disguise the hypocricy of the design—We are still to amuse the Exile with an idea of

cooperation and union of operation on the coast at the very moment that a pending negociation necessarily suspends all hostile operations on the part of our commander in chief.—But this was a moment *highly favorable to treat of peace.* What rendered it so? At the period this *candid opinion* is expressed by the Commodore he had not seen Tripoli during the last eight months, nor ever within gun shot; some of his frigates had not ever been nearer it than Malta; seldom if ever more than two of them cruising off the port and generally not but one; his squadron had never been displayed to the enemy's view; nor a shot exchanged with the batteries of Tripoli since Commodore Preble left the coast, except *enpassant:* and, what is a truth equally demonstrable, no visible preparations were making at head quarters for the investment the ensuing summer which could give the enemy any uneasiness. The Commodore, I am sensible, was too much an invalid to take an active part in an expedition. But was he so destitute of energy of mind as to be incapable of directing its operations? and had he no commander in the fleet to whom he could confide the conduct of an expectation under his own direction? If destitute of those capacities himself, his counsellers possessed them—and it would have cost them no more exercise of mind to encourage them to derange plans.

But the theatre of the war was transferred to the eastern provinces. Why not then support us there with the means of subsistence and detachments of marines? All that was now necessary was to *support* us and *show* himself. The idea of this step surpassing his authority is ridiculous, and could not have originated with him—What! A commander in chief without authority to make discretional dispositions of his forces and the means of subsisting them? It is objected that *the services of the officers were all to be called for on board their respective ships as soon as offensive measures were entered upon.* In a bombardment or a cruise, marines are of little

more use in a man of war than cavalry or pioneers; and while the vessels are laying in port they are used only as badges of rank and machines of ceremony. Why not send them where they could be useful, at least till *offensive measures were entered upon?* Gentlemen of that corps, I am well assured, actuated, like their brethren of the navy, by a manly zeal to distinguish themselves, were ready to volunteer in the expedition—And it did not require a greater latitude of discretion to indulge them the permission to fight at Derne than to furlough them on parties of pleasure at Catania: and they might have been subsisted cheaper on the coast than at any port in Italy. But we were compelled to sacrifice forty five days at that post, fixed, within an hour's march of the main force of the enemy without the power of attacking them with any reasonable prospect of success; and only for the want of 200 bayonets! would such a detachment have defeated the great operations carrying on by the squadron?

When peace was finally resolved upon, what were the provisions made for the brave men who had fought our battles in the enemy's country, and who had contributed in rendering *this moment propitious to such an event?*—Supplies, indeed, are sent out for the *Christians* under my command; but the alternative left me to perish with the *Mahometans* under my command or desert them to their solitary fate and abandon my post like a coward!

This is the first instance I ever heard of a religious test being required to entitle a soldier to his rations; and the only one of an ally being devoted to destruction with so little necessity and with so much cool blood. Is all this to be ascribed to the debilitated state of the Commodore's system? I am persuaded it is. And for this reason I cannot but feel that the persons near him, who dictated his measures as well as his stile (he says in this letter also he cannot write himself) are deeply reprehensible for adopting pacific measures so prematurely, under circum-

stances so favorable to coercion and on conditions so dissonant to the general tone of our Government and country.—They ought at least to have suspended those measures until advices, which would naturally be expected after the return and representations of Commodore Preble, from the head of the Department. The season for naval operations had hardly opened, and the delay of two or three months could work no probable disadvantages in our affairs, even should no advice have come forward—But, as provisions mere made at home, had the subject been considered with due influence over measures, we might with great certainty have calculated on taking possession of Tripoli and of the enemy's person.—Indeed, I do firmly believe we might have done it with the means we did originally possess, had those means been properly directed into action; and this without any considerable sacrifice on our part.—Some lives might, and probably would have been lost; but when a man accepts a sword and bears on his shoulders badges of the confidence of his country he ought no longer to calculate on dying in a feather bed.

After our commissioner had arrived at Tripoli and had opened a communication with Joseph Bashaw, the command of the squadron being transferred to Captain Rodgers, some disagreement occurred which broke off the intercourse. At this crisis Captain Dent arrived off Tripoli, being dispatched by the late Commodore, with information to the acting Commodore of the reinforcement of gun boats and bomb ketches having arrived in the Mediterranean from the United States; and with my letter of 15th May stating our success against the enemy's army in the eastern province. Captain Dent was also authorized to assure the commodore of my determination to hold our position at Derne until something definite should be decided in our affairs. Here then was a fair opportunity for the acting Commodore Rodgers to have distinguished himself; to have set an example to all tributary nations by chastising the te-

merity of a Barbary pirate; and to have rendered a most important service to his country. Why he did not profit of the occasion can only be accounted for by presuming that he was discouraged by the commissioner of peace, and by him led under the impression that it became his duty to govern himself by the posthumous opinions of his predecessor—knowing as every one does, the patriotism, personal energy and laudable ambition of Captain Rodgers, it would be difficult to conceive any other reason for his not seizing so great an occasion to have done a signal honor to his flag and to have immortalized himself.

I am, indeed, at loss for reasons why Mr. Lear abandoned these high grounds after having affected so much engagedness for *exemplary measures*. But the negociation was resumed and peace *purchased!* And on the 6th June this commissioner states to me official information of the transaction.

"The Bashaw's demands" says he, "were 200,000 dollars for peace and ransom, &c.—which terms were at once rejected in toto:"—and "after some discussion" he adds, "I proposed that a mutual exchange of prisoners should take place, and as he had a balance of more than two hundred in his power, I would give him 60,000 dollars for them; but not a cent for peace," &c.

On these terms, peace was definitively concluded. But this statement, adopted in its literal sense, is an imposition on the understanding of the public. It is, indeed, literally true that a balance of *prisoners of war* was in Joseph Bashaw's power—but we had in our power, being actually in our possession, the capital of the largest province of his dominions containing between twelve and fifteen thousand souls. Could not this have been exchanged for 200 prisoners of war? Was the attempt made? It is manifest the enemy dispaired of recovering it by force of arms. And, so far from not giving *a cent for peace*, as asserted by the commissioner—we gave a *kingdom* for peace. Tripoli was in our power; and with no very

extraordinary effort it might have been also in our hands. The enemy felt a conviction of this, and did not hesitate to acknowledge it in the presence of the commissioner; and the latter has since expressed to me his own belief in the feasibility of the enterprize; but he advances at the same time as argument for concluding the peace in the manner he did, and with such prospects before us, that *we wished to make peace with a man who would have the ability to keep it.* If parricide, fatricide, treason, perfidy to treaty already experienced and systematic piracy be characteristic guarantees of good faith, Mr. Lear has chosen the fittest of the two brothers for his man of confidence. Their ability to keep the peace is less essential than ours to maintain it: undoubtedly nothing but terror would bind either of them, nor any other Barbary chief, to a faithful observance of treaty stipulation. Our negociator ought however to have considered that Hamet Bashaw's was the popular cause, and that this cause is fast gaining ground in Barbary. It was the cause of liberty—of freedom. He ought to have considered that to cede the advantageous position we held could not but make the desire of peace appear like too much of an object with us and could not but leave an impression of weakness or want of spirit on our character. It would be hard to suspect our commissioner of intentional fraud on the United States in his generosity with Joseph Bashaw; but it is harder to reconcile his needless concessions and prodigalities to the test of patriotism.

Although Mr. Lear would never admit that our operations in the eastern provinces had any influence on the dispositions of the enemy, and although he made it a condition of his entering upon a negociation that the Commodore should take measures to compel the evacuation of Derne; yet in a paroxysm of candor, he expresses himself thus in his letter above quoted.—

"I found that the heroic bravery of our few countrymen at Derne, and the idea that we had a large force and immense supplies at that place had made a deep impression on the Bashaw; I kept up that idea, and endeavored, from thence to make some arrangements favorable to his brother, who, although not found to be the man whom many had supposed, was yet entitled to some consideration from us. But I found this was impracticable, and, if persisted in, would drive him to measures which might prove fatal to our countrymen in his power."

The reasons here assigned for the *deep impression* made on the Bashaw are not strictly true. It was impossible to conceal from the enemy *our real* force at Derne. The late Governor had obtained exact information of it before he escaped from his sanctuary—and the enemy themselves reconnoitered us almost daily. Besides this, it was impossible for us totally to prevent communications between the town and the camp. Is it probable that a garrison of one hundred Christians on the coast, left totally *destitute of supplies*, could of itself impress such deep apprehensions? For shame let us not admit this, so much the more humiliating our conditions of peace! No; it was a dread of the revolution, moved by Hamet Bashaw, being brought to his capital through our assistance, that made the *impression* on the enemy.

But the apprehension insinuated by Mr. Lear, that endeavoring to profit of this circumstance in favor of the legitimate Prince *might prove fatal to our countrymen in his power* betrays ignorance, pusilanimity or design. Or if menaces were used to impress such an apprehension it can hardly be admitted as sufficient reason for bartering the honor of our country, and deserting the interest of an ally—for, if he had not already been made acquainted with the rhodomontade of Joseph Bashaw's character, a common observance of the operations of human nature might have taught him, that man seldom meditates vengeance when dissolution glares him in the face,

nor violates the rights of nature and the laws of nations when certain destruction awaits him.

In this case, however, the experiment had been fairly tried, and this bravado's resolution put to the test by Commodore Preble. That Bashaw threatened him, and swore by the solemnity of his religion to put every one of our countrymen to death who were in Tripoli if the Commodore fired a shot into his batteries. Did he put the threat in execution? On the contrary; when ever that determined commander approached his walls, after the first attack, the *terrible* Bashaw's first care was to provide for his own safety; and he uniformly took refuge at his gardens or in his bomb proof—and, all experience has taught us, that the more roughly he was handled and the nearer danger approached him, the more tractable he has been rendered.

But if the *idea* of our *large force* and *immense supplies* at Derne, or more honestly our transactions with his brother, made a deep impression on the Bashaw, as it manifestly did, was this the first instant of the commissioner being apprized of it? If so he had neglected his duty; for it was notorious to every other American officer in the Mediterranean—and he ought to have known it and to have made an honorable use of it: instead of which he proceeds—

"I therefore engaged, of course, that on the conclusion of peace," (for which he gave not a cent!) "we should withdraw all our forces from Derne and other parts of his dominions, and the Bashaw engages, that if his brother withdraws himself quietly from his dominions, his wife and family should be restored to him."

He goes further. He really not only negociates Hamet Bashaw out of his own territories, but pledges the faith of the United States to carry the stipulation into execution; and, at the same time, secretly convenes with Joseph Bashaw that the fulfilment of his engagement in this article shall never be made a subject matter of consideration. Was Mr. Lear sent

out to cooperate with Joseph Bashaw! Or is this a crisis in the circumstances of the United States which renders darkness and duplicity necessary to our political safety or existence? Is it possible that any thing can render it so, in favor of a piratical chieftain of a Barbary garrison whom one frigate and a few tenders had so often driven from his strong holds? If so, it ought to appear to justify our conduct to the world.

Our commissioner closes his communication to me—

"I pray you will accept yourself, and present to Mr. O'Bannon, and our brave countrymen with you, my sincere congratulations, on an event which your and their heroic bravery has tended to render so honorable to our country."

After having subscribed to a treaty the conditions of which, under the then existing circumstances, reflects a wound on our national dignity; and after having seized an occasion to use me as an instrument to the attainment of this acquisition as he seems to think it, he evidently flatters himself he shall absorb my just sense of indignation and chagrin in a plausible paragraph of fulsome adulation.

Whatever may be considered, by capacities capable of judging correctly, the merit or demerit of my conduct, I beg you will entertain a more favorable opinion of my pride than to suppose I ever lived a moment when I should have thought it an honor to receive a military compliment from the *provisional* Colonel Lear—

A Colonel * * * * * * * * * *

"Who never set a squadron in the field,

"Nor the division of a battle knows,

"More than a spinster."

Of one thing I am confident—If there be any honor or advantage in the peace, a share of the merit cannot be refused to those whose exertions influenced the event. If it has been too precipitately concluded, and all the advantages not secured which situations

offered, it was not my fault:—It was my invariable opinion, and I invariably endeavored to impress it both by argument and effort, that the measure ought to be delayed until all our means of chastisement were brought to bear on the enemy.—But the instrument the most imposing, that which the enemy undoubtedly greatly dreaded, and on which our country had fixed its chief hope and reposed its honor, never appeared in the field—OUR SQUADRON! And our Commissioner negociated out of our hands a Post in the enemy's dominions, next in population and consequence to his capital, WITHOUT ANY EQUIVALENT WHATEVER.

Thus, though it was our business, and though we had most amply the means to dismantle the enemy; instead of this, we have established him in a more safe situation to do us and mankind mischief, than he possessed before the war; or than he could have possessed without the war; for, by expelling his rival, we have relieved him of his most dangerous adversary. He has gained a kingdom—what have we gained by the war!

However the Peace may be received by the Government and people of the United States, here are circumstances in which both our interest and our honor are so deeply involved that they cannot but induce an enquiry.

I have the honor to be,
very respectfully,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

P. S. LIST of the naval force which might have been employed before Tripoli by the middle of July, actually at the rendezvous at Syracuse the fourth and eleventh.

FRIGATES.

1	President,	44 guns.
2	Constitution,	44
3	Congress,	36
4	Constellation,	36
5	Essex,	32
6	John Adams,	32

BRIGS.

1	Argus,	18
2	Syren,	18
3	Vixen,	14
4	Franklin,	8

SCHOONERS.

1	Enterprize,	14
2	Nautilus,	14

SLOOP.

1	Hornet,	8

Carrying in all 318 guns and mortars.

Gun Boats and ketches from the United States.

No. 1 not sailed.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

7 not arrived.

Nos. 8, 9.

Gun Boats from Tripoli, 2

Gun Boats from the Adriatic. 6

Total number of guns, including 33 belonging to the gun boats, 351.

Commodore Preble attacked Tripoli successfully with less than one third this fore; and with no collateral circumstances in his favor.

GEN. EATON left Syracuse Aug. 6th, touched at Malta, Tunis, Gibraltar and Madeira, and arrived at Hampton Roads, in the Chesapeake, in November. On his way to Washington he spent several days at Richmond, where he was highly honored by the Citizens ; and partook of a sumptuous public entertainment, provided to show him respect.

On his arrival at the seat of government he was again honored with a public dinner. The President, in his Message to Congress, made honorable mention of his merit and services. Throughout the United States his name stood exalted : never perhaps before did that of any individual rise so rapidly and to such an atitude. He was considered as having, by his prowess and enterprise, compelled the Bashaw of Tripoli to make peace : while the the general sentiment entertained was, that, had not Lear thus hastily made a treaty, he must, if properly sustained by the naval force then in the Mediterranean, in a short time have been master of the kingdom of Tripoli, and have been enabled to make his own terms of peace, as well as to have settled our concerns on the Barbary coast, so as to prevent hereafter the necessity of tribute.

Being unreserved in the expression of his sentiments with regard to Lear, who, from some cause, was determinedly upheld by the administration, he unwittingly created enemies. In the social circles at Washington he was not at all times guarded in his regimen ; and when occasionally heated by those excesses which afterwards became almost habitual, his egotism, rashness and authorative manners, excited disgust in the minds of many.

In December he paid a visit to his family in Brimfield. On his way, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, he was treated with great attention and respect, by invitations to public dinners and other expressions of esteem. He soon after returned to Washington.

A resolution was brought forward in the House of Representatives of the United States for presenting

him with a medal, in testimony of his enterprise, courage and signal services. This resolution was debated with no inconsiderable warmth. The principal speakers in opposition to its passage were the celebrated Mr. J. Randolph and Mr. J. Clay of Pennsylvania. These gentlemen represented the whole proceedings of EATON, and his engagement at Derne, as a trivial occurrence, unworthy the public expression of thanks by the House. A small majority were opposed to the adoption of the resolution; which was postponed from time to time, but never passed.

In the legislature of Massachusetts he received a treatment very different from that received in the national legislature. With a liberality highly honorable to that State, its legislature passed the following Resolve.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In Senate, Feb. 25th, 1806.

WHEREAS in a rising Republic, it is highly important to cherish that patriotism which conquers a love of ease, of pleasure and of wealth, which prompts individuals to a love of their country, and induces them to embrace every opportunity to advance its prosperity and happiness, as well by ameliorating the fate of those citizens whom the fortune of war has thrown into captivity, as by cheerfully contributing to its support and defence: And whereas the love of enterprise, when guided by a just sense of propriety and benevolence, may become the parent of many virtues, and a state is sometimes indebted for its safety, to the virtues and undaunted courage of a single man.

And whereas the Senate and House of Representatives of this Commonwealth, are desirous to perpetuate a remembrance of the heroic enterprise of WILLIAM EATON, Esq. while engaged inthe service of the

United States, whose undaunted courage and brilliant services, so eminently contributed to release a large number of his fellow citizens, late prisoners in Tripoli, from the chains of slavery, and to restore them to freedom, their country, and their friends ;—therefore

RESOLVED, that the Committee for the sale of eastern lands be, and they are hereby authorized and directed, to convey to WILLIAM EATON, ESQ. a citizen of this Commonwealth, and to his heirs and assigns, a tract of land to contain ten thousand acres, of any of the unappropriated land of this Commonwealth, in the District of Maine ; excepting the ten townships on Penobscot river.

And be it further resolved, that his Excellency the Governor be requested, as soon as conveniently may be, to cause to be transmitted to the said WILLIAM EATON, ESQ. an authentic copy of this resolution.

Sent down for concurrence,

H. G. OTIS, *President.*

In the House of Representatives, March 3d, 1806.

Read and concurred,

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, *Speaker.*

March 4th, 1806.

Approved, CALEB STRONG

True Copy, Attest,

JOHN AVERY, *Secretary.*

His accounts, for many years standing, with the United States, were unsettled. Several important items were considered by the Department of State as improper for any other adjudication than that of Congress. These accounts were before the committee of claims during the whole session, but were not

adjusted before its close. In the spring he returned to Brimfield, where he spent the summer in visiting his friends and improving a large farm.

At the next session of Congress, 1806-7, GEN. EATON returned to the seat of government, principally for the purpose of adjusting his accounts. The conspiracy of Aaron Burr had excited great attention and considerable alarm throughout the union. Wilkinson, who, from the best testimony appears to have been originally concerned with Burr, but had found it safe and prudent to deny the connexion and become an outrageous patriot, had arrested several persons in the territory of Orleans, denying them the privilege of the Habeas Corpus, and had ordered them transported by water to the district of Columbia. Swartwout and Bollman, two of the persons arrested by Wilkinson, arrived at Washington in January, 1807.

At the instigation of the Executive of the United States, a motion was made by the United States district Attorney, in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, for a warrant, directing the Marshall of the district to take the prisoners from the hands of the military, that they might be delivered to the civil authority. As no specific charge was made in the deposition of Wilkinson, some hesitation arose with the Court from the want of a specific offence with which to charge the prisoners. To obtain such charge, the deposition of GEN. EATON was demanded; which was given in the following manner.

"Early last winter, Col. Aaron Burr, late Vice President of the United States, signified to me, at this place, that under the authority of the general government, he was organizing a secret expedition against the Spanish provinces on our south western borders; which expedition he was to lead, and in which he was authorized to invite me to take the command of a division. I had never before been made personally acquainted with Col. Burr; and, having for many years been employed in foreign ser-

vice, I knew but little about the estimation this gentleman now held in the opinion of his countrymen and his government: the rank and confidence by which he had so lately been distinguished, left me no right to suspect his patriotism. I knew him a soldier. In case of war with the Spanish nation, which from the tenor of the President's message to both houses of Congress seemed probable, I should have thought it my duty to obey so honorable a call of my country; and, under that impression, I did engage to embark in the expedition. I had frequent interviews with Col. Burr in this city—and for a considerable time his object seemed to be to instruct me, by maps, and other information, in the feasibility of penetrating to Mexico—always carrying forward the idea that the measure was authorized by government. At length, some time in February, he began by degrees to unveil himself. He reproached the government with want of character, want of gratitude, and want of justice. He seemed desirous of irritating resentment in my breast by dilating certain injuries he felt I had suffered from reflections made on the floor of the House of Representatives, concerning my operations in Barbary, and from the delays of government in adjusting my claims for disbursements on that coast during my consular agency at Tunis; and he said he would point me to an honorable mode of indemnity. I now began to entertain a suspicion that Mr. Burr was projecting an unauthorized military expedition; which to me was enveloped in mystery; and, desirous to draw an explanation from him, I suffered him to suppose me resigned to his counsel. He now laid open his project of revolutionising the western country, separating it from the Union, establishing a monarchy there, of which he was to be the sovereign, New Orleans to be his capital; organizing a force on the Missisippi, and extending conquest to Mexico. I suggested a number of impediments to his scheme—such as the republican habits of the citizens of that country, and

their affection towards our present administration of government; the want of funds; the resistance he would meet from the regular army of the United States on those frontiers; and the opposition of Miranda in case he should succeed to republicanise the Mexicans.

Mr. Burr found no difficulty in removing these obstacles—he said he had, the preceding season, made a tour through that country, and had secured the attachment of the principal citizens of Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana to his person, and his measures—declared he had inexhaustible resources as to funds; assured me the regular army would act with him, and would be reinforced by 10 or 12,000 men from the above mentioned states and territory, and from other parts of the union; said he had powerful agents in the Spanish territory—and as for Miranda, said Mr. Burr, we must hang Miranda. He now proposed to give me the second command in his army. I asked him who should have the chief command? He said *General Wilkinson*. I observed, it was singular that he should count on Gen. Wilkinson; the elevated rank, and high trust he now held as commander in chief of our army and governor of a province, he would hardly put at hazard for any precarious prospects of aggrandizement. Mr. Burr said, Gen. Wilkinson, balanced in the confidence of government, was doubtful of retaining much longer the consideration he now enjoyed, and was consequently prepared to secure to himself a permanency. I asked Mr. Burr if he knew Gen. Wilkinson? He answered yes: and echoed the question. I said I knew him well. "What do you know of him?" said Mr. Burr. I know, I replied, that Gen. Wilkinson will act as *Lieutenant* to no man in existence. "You are in an error," said Mr. Burr. "*Wilkinson will act as Lieutenant to me.*" From the tenor of repeated conversations with Mr. Burr, I was induced to believe the plan of separating the union which he had contemplated had been commu-

nicated to and approved by Gen. Wilkinson, (though I now suspect it an artful argument of seduction) and he often expressed a full confidence that the General's influence ; the offer of double pay and double rations ; the prospect of plunder and the ambition of atchievement, would draw the army into his measures.—Mr. Burr talked of the establishment of an independent government west of the Alleghany as a matter of inherent, constitutional right of the people ; a change which would eventually take place, and for the operation of which the present crisis was peculiarly favorable. There was, said he, no energy in the government to be dreaded, and the divisions of political opinions throughout the union was a circumstance of which we should profit.—There were very many enterprising men among us who aspired to something beyond the dull pursuits of civil life, and who would volunteer in this enterprise, and the vast territory belonging to the United States which offered to adventurers, and the mines of Mexico, would bring strength to his standard from all quarters.

I listened to the exposition of Col. Burr's views with seeming acquiescence. Every interview convinced me more and more that he had organized a deep laid plot of treason in the west, in the accomplishment of which he felt fully confident. Till, at length, I discovered that his ambition was not bounded by the waters of the Mississippi, and Mexico, but that he meditated overthrowing the present government of our country. He said, if he could gain over the Marine Corps, and secure the naval commanders, Truxton, Preble, Decatur and others, *he would turn Congress neck and heels out of doors ; assassinate the President ; seize on the treasury and navy ; and declare himself the protector of an energetic government.*

The honorable trust of corrupting the marine corps, and of sounding commodore Preble and captain Decator, Col. Burr proposed confiding to me.

Shocked at this proposition, I dropped the mask, and exclaimed against his views. He talked of the degraded situation of our country, and the necessity of a *blow* by which its energy and its dignity should be restored—said, if that blow could be struck here at this time, he was confident of the support of the best blood of *America*. I told Colonel Burr he deceived himself in presuming that he, or any other man could excite a party in this country who would countenance him in such a plot of desperation, murder and treason. He replied, that he, perhaps, knew better the dispositions of the influential citizens of this country, than I did. I told him one solitary word would destroy him. He asked, what word? I answered *Usurper!* He smiled at my hesitation, and quoted some great examples in his favor. I observed to him, that I had lately travelled from one extreme of the union to the other; and, though I found a diversity of political opinion among the people, they appeared united at the most distant aspect of national danger. That, for the section of the union to which I belonged, I would vouch, should he succeed in the first instance here, he would within six weeks afterwards have his throat cut by Yankee militia.

Though wild and extravagant Mr. Burr's last project; and though fraught with premeditated slaughter, I felt very easy on the subject, because its defeat he had deposited in my own hands. I did not feel so secure concerning that of disjoining the union. But the very interesting and embarrassing situation in which his communications placed me, left me, I confess, at a stand to know how to conduct myself with propriety. He had committed no overt act of aggression against law. I could draw nothing from him in writing; nor could I learn that he had exposed his plans to any person near me by whom my testimony could be supported. He had mentioned to me no persons who were principally and decidedly engaged with him, except Gen. Wilkinson—a Mr. Alston, who I found was his son in law, and a Mr.

Ephraim Kibby, late a Captain of rangers in Gen. Wayne's army. Satisfied that Mr. Burr was resolute in pushing his project of rebellion in the west of the Alleghany, and apprehensive that it was too well and too extensively organized to be easily suppressed; though I dreaded the weight of his character when laid in the balance against my solitary assertion, I brought myself to the resolution to endeavor to defeat it, by getting him removed from among us, or to expose myself to all consequences by a disclosure of his intentions. Accordingly, I waited on the President of the United States; and after some desultory conversation, in which I aimed to draw his view to the westward, I used the freedom to say to the President I thought Mr. Burr should be sent out of this country—and gave for reason, that I believed him dangerous in it. The President asked where he should be sent? I mentioned *London* and *Cadiz*. The President thought the trust too important, and seemed to entertain a doubt of Mr. Burr's integrity. I intimated that no one, perhaps, had stronger grounds to mistrust Mr. Burr's moral integrity than myself: yet, I believed ambition so much predominated over him, that when placed on an eminence and put on his honor, respect to himself would ensure his fidelity: his talents were unquestionable.

I perceived the subject was disagreeable to the President; and to give it the shortest course to the point, declared my concern that if *Mr. Burr were not in some way disposed of, we should within eighteen months, have an insurrection, if not a revolution on the waters of the Missisippi.* The President answered, *that he had too much confidence in the information, the integrity and the attachment to the union* of the citizens of that country, to admit an *apprehension* of the kind. I am happy that events prove this confidence well placed. As no interrogatories followed my expression of alarm, I thought silence on the subject, at that time and place, became me. But I detailed, about the same time, the whole pro-

jects of Mr. Burr to certain members of Congress. They believed Col. Burr capable of any thing—and agreed that *the fellow ought to be hanged;* but thought his projects too chimerical and his circumstances too desperate to give the subject the merit of serious consideration. The total security of feeling in those to whom I had rung the tocsin induced me to suspect my own apprehensions unseasonable, or at least too deeply admitted; and, of course, I grew indifferent about the subject.

Mr. Burr's visits to me became less frequent and his conversation less familiar. He appeared to have abandoned the idea of a general revolution; but seemed bent on that of the Missisippi; and although I could perceive symptoms of distrust in him towards me, he manifested great solicitude to engage me with him in the enterprize. Weary of his importunity, and at once to convince him of my serious attachments, I gave the following toast to the public:

The *United* States—Palsey to the brain that should plot to dismember, and Leprocy to the hand that will not draw to defend *our union!*

I doubt whether the sentiment was better understood by any of my acquaintance than Colonel Burr. Our intercourse ended here—we met but seldom afterward. I returned to my farm in Massachusetts, and thought no more of Mr. Burr, nor his empire, till sometime late in September or beginning of October, when a letter from Morris Belknap, of Marietta, to Timothy E. Danielson, fell into my hands at Brimfield, which satisfied me that Mr. Burr had actually commenced his preparatory operations on the Ohio. I now spoke publicly of the fact—transmitted a copy of the letter from Belknap to the department of state, and about the same time, forwarded through the hands of the post master general, to the President of the United States, a statement in substance, of what is here above detailed concerning the Missisippi conspiracy of the said Col. Aaron Burr—which is said to have been the first formal intelligence receiv-

ed by the executive on the subject of the conspirator being in motion.

I know not whether my country will allow me the merit of correctness of conduct in this affair. The novelty of the duty might, perhaps, have embarrassed stronger minds than mine. The uprightness of my intentions I hope will not be questioned.

The interviews between Col. Burr and myself, from which the foregoing statement has resulted, were chiefly in this city in the months of February and March, last year.

WILLIAM EATON.

Washington City, Jan. 26th, 1806.

Sworn to in open court, this 26th day of January, 1807.

WM. BRENT, *Clerk.*

Some suspicions have been entertained by a few, that EATON listened to Burr with a wavering disposition, or with sentiments for some time favorable to his projects. This however was mere suspicion, nor was there even any evidence adduced to support such a charge.

GEN. EATON firmly believed that Wilkinson was equally guilty with Burr; as will appear from the answer to the following extract of a letter from Wilkinson to EATON.

Washington, Jan. 23d, 1808.

MY DEAR EATON,

THE conspiracy formed for my destruction in New Orleans last spring, of which I was fully apprised at Richmond, at the time I was sounding Powers and Clark as to their object in coming there, has burst forth in consequence of my exposition of the turpitude of John Randolph, and Clark being pushed by his associates in New Orleans, to

fulfil his compact to destroy me. This villainous explosion which I dreaded before a vile corrupt Judge, with Burr and his pack of infernal attorneys, to torture, distort, deform and misrepresent, to suit the purpose of the combination, has occurred under circumstances, and taken a course, which give my enemies and accusers a claim to my thanks: and if I do not prostrate them under my feet and repel every charge of dishonor, then do you abjure your Christian faith and turn Turk: nay more, renounce me forever.—The inclosed is a mere coup d'oeil of what is believed—poor Clark his horrid attempt on my honor, has brought forward more of honor, with documents to prove him guilty of perjury and forgery, and that he was an associate of the Mexican combination, and labored to promote Burr's views.

J. WILKINSON.

WILLIAM EATON.

The compiler of these memoirs happened to be with GEN. EATON, in Boston when this letter was received. I asked him if he had any doubts of the guilt of Wilkinson: he replied that he had not the least: but that Wilkinson had ingenuity enough to escape. To this letter he returned the following answer.

Boston, Feb. 6th, 1808.

SIR,

THE letter and inclosures you did me the honor to forward on the 29th ult. did not arrive until yesterday. For the honor of your cloth; for the nations honor; for the personal respect I feel towards my former General, I devoutly wish your reputation may come from the ordeal *like gold seven times tried by the fire.* Yet to an eye which can impartially view the statements as they come to the public, doubts cannot but arise.

If Clark be perjured, he has nevertheless had the address to work so much of *consistency* into his story that men, unacquainted with your character, admit

suspicion. It will require all your talent and ingenuity to *do away this suspicion.* Do you remember, sir, having shewed me a confidential letter from Mr. Clark, which talked of *Dukedoms* and *Principalities ?* I should do injustice to candor were I to withhold the impressions made on my mind on the occasion : which were that at one period you must have thought of a WESTERN EMPIRE ; but that mature deliberation determined your adherence to duty and the union : of course that your arrangements and mode of exciting them, in the end, were necessary and proper. On the charge of *corruption,* the manner you explained the receipt of $20,000 of a Spanish officer, being due as a balance on a tobacco trade, smuggled through his connivance, was satisfactory to me : the conduct was lawful to any American citizen. Mr. Clark swears *there was no tobacco speculation* in the case : this testimony must be invalidated, or *my opinion must suspend.* I really wait with great solicitude the result of the important enquiry,

and remain with great respect,
Sir, your very obedient
WILLIAM EATON.

In a public address some time after, GEN. EATON expressed himself thus—"I have jeopardized my life and reputation to preserve the integrity of the Union : and, (I hope to be forgiven,) to this vigilance and fidelity, rather than to movements on the Sabine or at New Orleans, our hero of Carter's mountain owes his political if not personal existence : for, it was not until my public exposure had alarmed Gen. Wilkinson in his camp, that he, though more than two years acquainted with the treasonable plot, thought of *betraying* his *fellow traitor,* and *becoming a patriot* by *turning states evidence.*"

During the month of February, 1807, GEN. EATON succeeded in procuring an adjustment of his accounts, by the passage of a bill authorising the de-

partment of state to settle them according to equity : but not till he had, in the following spirited manner, addressed the Committee of claims, which address he made public.

To the Honorable Chairman of the Committee of Claims.

Washington City, Feb. 9th, 1807.

Sir,

ON a review of the statement, accompanying my petition of 20th Feb. 1804, now before this honorable Committee, I cannot find a paragraph which needs correction or modification. That statement surveys the chief ground and origin of my claims. Have the goodness, sir, to pass attentively over it ; and to carry forward, in the examination, a view of the events which have since occurred to establish the correctness of the measures there alluded to. It will satisfy you that a perseverance in those measures has given *peace* to this country and *emancipation* to three hundred of our fellow citizens ; and that, while it has done something to stamp a good impression on the pirates of Barbary, it has saved your treasury more than a million of Dollars. My reward, hitherto, is penury and wounds ! I ought not, perhaps, to say this ; it carries something which savors of reproach : this I do not mean. I have no where been *refused* indemnity. On the contrary, three years ago, when as yet the effects of my arrangements had not been realized, your Committee expressed an opinion that I *had a well founded claim on the government.*

But the delay, in the decision necessary to a reimbursement of my expenditures, has greatly distressed me in my individual concerns—expenditures of which my country now reap the profit—and of which a vast majority of my countrymen appear to be very sensible.

I do not present myself here to ask alms, nor to expect gratuities—nor yet to draw on your sensibility to awaken a consideration for all the sacrifices to which I yielded in standing to the duties of my station at the court of a piratical despot, and on the coast of a savage enemy. You cannot make me such indemnity—you cannot, sir, under any shape I can present the claim, award me a remuneration for the sacrifices of property incident to the vexations, impositions and proscriptions which the Bey of Tunis practiced on me in consequence of my resistance to his unwarrantable exactions against the United States—You cannot bring back to me nine years of active life—you cannot restore to me the strength of an arm. But for actual disbursements for the benefit of our common country, whether voluntary or extorted, I have a right again to resort to your justice, and to believe that this justice will be no longer delayed.

It is only fit here, therefore, that I avow the perfect confidence I feel, sir, in the disposition and the righteousness of this Committee to give my claims a deliberate and a seasonable review, and an equitable award.

With regard, however, to the last item of my charge, it should be remarked—*this was not originally intended to be brought against the United States.* I had faith that the honor of the Court of Sardinia would redeem the paper of a nobleman charged with the high trust of a national negociator: and in case of failure here, had confidence in the exertions of the son of that nobleman to reimburse me the cash I was compelled to pay, as his surety, for the redemption of the child of his affection, and for the honor of his family. I should, undoubtedly, have realized these confidences had not a dispensation of the government of the United States (unacquainted with the usages of that country) released the surety held at Tunis for the debt, and been construed by the Bey

alier Porcille as a generous acquittal of the debtor.* A reimbursement ought to come from the Court of Sardinia to our government. Papers touching this transaction are submitted with my other document.

The heavy expences incident to an appeal to this Chancery for such a length of time as I have been before you, and at so great a distance from my home; together with the circumstances of these private funds lying so long useless to me have necessarily laid me under pecuniary responsibility to my friends. The suspense of another year must lodge me in a *prison!*

If you find, sir, that I have been upright to my country—let my country, by a reciprocity, now enable me to ranson myself.

I have the honor to be,
with perfect respect,
Sir, your most obedien servant,
WILLIAM EATON.

In May, Gen. Eaton was elected by the inhabitants of Brimfield, a representative in the legislature of the state of Massachusetts: the first session of which commenced the last of that month, which however, he was unable to attend, having been summoned to attend the court about to sit in Richmond, (Vir.) for the trial of Aaron Burr and others. The trial was very long, and in Richmond he spent the greater part of the summer. Here his intemperate habits became more confirmed; and a very great proportion of his time was spent at the card table; at which he lost large sums of money; besides considerable sums in betting on the issue of Burr's trial.

Great pains were taken by Burr and his counsel to invalidate the testimony of Eaton, but without success. Much was expected from the presence and relation of Col. Gaither, of whom mention is

* This was a debt of 17,000 piasters, due to the United States, which Mr. Jefferson *kindly* relinquished by his own imperial will.

made in a former part of this volume, but the evidence of EATON, remained uninjured.

At the commencement of the second session of the legislature of Massachusetts, in December, GEN. EATON took his seat. The town which had sent him was decisively federal, and expected from him a course of political conduct agreeable to their wishes. He had the reputation, generally, of being of the Washington school; but the delivery of a speech in which he condemned the conduct and impeached the integrity of Chief Justice Marshall; and in which were uttered many expressions and sentiments offensive to the purity of federalism; occasioned the withdrawing of confidence in both parties.

By a vain attempt thus to secure the good opinion of both parties he lost the political esteem of both. Nor less was diminished the personal esteem generally entertained for him at the commencement of the session. He was invited to the tables of some of the most respectable characters in Boston, where his deportment was such in many instances, as soon to render him an unwelcome guest. He governed his glass with little jealousy; and at such times, as is usual, his "wit was out."

In the spring of the year 1808, GEN. EATON, was summoned to attend the United States district Court in Philadelphia, as a witness in the trial of a person charged with being concerned with Burr. On his return he learned, to his disappointment and mortification, that he was not reelected to the legislature of this state; the equivocal part he had taken the last session having alienated the confidence of the town in his political firmness.

Several of his letters to some friends in Washington betray his wishes and expectations of receiving some high military command in the army of the United States. His disappointment in this respect; the refusal of the town of Brimfield again to send him to the General Court, and the derangement and embarrassment of his domestic and pecuniary con-

cerns; so preyed upon his mind that he seems from this time to have given himself up to the despair of promotion, of mending his fortune or reestablishing his character: his habits of intemperance became more constant and excessive; and excepting in moments of hilarity he appeared to view the world with gloom or indignation.

In the month of August, his son Eli E. Danielson, who had accompanied him in his expedition to Derne, and to whom he was particularly attached, fell in a duel at New York, in consequence of a quarrel with a brother officer in the navy. Information of this misfortune was received in a letter from Mr. Babbit; to which Gen. Eaton, gave the following answer.

Brimfield, Aug. 14th, 1808.

Dear Sir,

THE sympathy you manifest in the event which occurred on the 5th instant, so afflicting to myself and family, receives our unaffected acknowledgments.

I wished Danielson might have lived to the usefulness of which he was capable.—But who can parry the arrow of death! The *when* and the *where* we receive the shock is of less consequence than the *how*.—I have always flattered myself that your friend could not die unlike a brave man: but it pains me that the ground of his fall had not been marked with more usefulness to his country.—Brave, great and experienced men may sometimes find it necessary to their reputation that they meet in personal contest; this may be justified where the fate of a nation is depending; such occurrences are rare: but the *trivial* disputes which excite ardent young men to put life up at a game of hazard, cannot be reconciled to principles of morality, patriotism, nor character. Danielson wanted no tests of his bravery: young, as he was, experience had tested this. I lament more the

absence of his prudence than I should the loss we feel had he fallen in the legitimate field of glory.—The manner of Hamilton's death added nothing to the lustre of his fame; and the circumstance of Burr's killing him gave no man the more confidence in Burr's honesty nor patriotism: the catastrophe satisfied no one on the merits of the cause which produced it. Individuals may slaughter each other honorably by the laws of chivalry—all that society can pronounce on this exhibition of courage is—Alas! The absence of Commodore Rodgers at that eventful moment is much to be lamented: His presence would have overawed the extremity which has brought affliction to the concerned for the deceased, and a loss to the service of our country—I most devoutly hope that this unhappy incident may prove a caution to the young gentlemen of your profession, against sudden sallies of passions.

Any thing in detail which you can state concerning the melancholy death of my son and friend, will confer on me a peculiar obligation. I have received no communications from Mr. Boyd, nor Mr. Evans, on the subject.

I am, Sir, &c.
WILLIAM EATON.

Lieut. FITZ H. BABBIT,
U. S. Navy.

That GEN. EATON was in almost all respects in principle a genuine disciple of the Washington school of politics is certain. The acquittal of Burr however in some measure soured his mind, and the hope of promotion in the army, by gratifying the ruling administration, occasioned at times a considerable swerving from his convictions. In the autumn of this year he however boldly denounced the general policy and measures of Congress. The following speech, made in town meeting in Brimfield, is worthy preservation as an exhibition of his oratorical

talents, as well as for its general correctness of principle and prophecy.

From the Boston Repertory.

BRIMFIELD TOWN MEETING.

On the 29th ult. the Inhabitants in Brimfield, in this State, being duly notified, assembled to take into consideration the expedience of petitioning the President of the United States to remove the Embargo in whole or in part, or to convene Congress, with that view, if his power were deemed incompetent. On this occasion, General EATON *addressed his fellow townsmen in the following Speech, which was requested for publication by vote of the town, and forwarded to us for that purpose.*

REMARKS BY GENERAL EATON.

IN the address of the inhabitants of the town of Boston to the president of the United States, and now offered to this town for concurrence, we see nothing unconstitutional nor disrespectful.—Its object, if attainable, is essentially important to the commercial and agricultural interests of this country; and not less necessary to our revenue. Indeed the distress and misery occasioned among all classes of our fellow citizens by the Embargo, this negative measure of coercion, are of themselves sufficient to justify this appeal for relief.

It is hardly necessary, at this moment, minutely to investigate the causes or the motives which induced the Embargo. Admit, what cannot be denied, that the interdictions upon our commerce by the belligerents, *if they could have been enforced*, would have nearly excluded us from the ocean—that by both parties we have been outraged—plundered and

insulted by both—and against both had sufficient cause of war : it does not follow, from any thing that appears to us, that the position we have taken to meet those aggressions has produced any relaxation of the restraints imposed on us as a neutral nation ; nor any amelioration of our sufferings.

A season, as it relates to commerce, has elapsed since the imposition of the Embargo ; the experiment has neither procured us *national honor, national security*—nor *domestic tranquility* ; on the contrary, in a national and domestic point of view, we suffer from this measure every disaster incident to war, except actual invasion, without any of the possible advantages of war. For though we see not on our plains, garments, rolled in blood, we see our sea board deserted by a hardy race of our natural defenders, whom starvation has compelled to seek foreign service ; to die ingloriously and unlamented. Though we see not the devastation of plundering armies, we feel our wealth diminishing to a death bed consumption for want of action—commerce annihilated—industry discouraged—the heart of enterprise broken—and a species of lazaroni beginning to crowd our porches with no other claims on our charity than *want of employment !* And though we do not, indeed weep the misfortunes of our flag for defeated squadrons and armies, we blush its fallen glory as the effects of a pusilanimous speculation on events much more dishonorable than manly defeat.

It is believed no real American will deny that both France and England have given us sufficient provocation to war. Not to mention the *captures, detentions, condemnations, burnings* and *sinkings* of our ships and merchandise by decrees of Napoleon the First ; not to mention his insolence at our court ; his fraudulent sale to *honest purchasers*, of the *unbounded Louisiana*, and his subsequent interference in behalf of the claims of Spain to the very territory he sold us, should have been enough to have raised the resentment of this whole nation.—That transaction

always reminds one of an upstart who once offered our Saviour *all the kingdoms of the earth* on condition of his homage—The Devil was rebuked—Bonaparte succeeded better with a subject. Both had an equal right to the kingdom they proposed to barter for *homage.*

But all the violations of our rights, on the part of the Corsican, are *silently* and *tamely endured,* and the edge of resentment, under his patronage, is solely pointed to *England.* It can no longer be concealed, that the Embargo was intended for the British nation, and *for her alone ;* else why do her ships of war continue to be excluded from our ports, and those of her enemy admitted to indulgencies which are denied to our own citizens ? It is believed that the Embargo was contemplated as a *war measure ;* and meant, by some leading characters of our administration, to *produce that effect. Indeed I do not hesitate to assert,* that WAR with ENGLAND has been a matter of *calculation* with the *chief magistrate* of the United States. Else why have all his messengers left their dispatches in France ; and to amuse our confidence, gone in *blank* to England ? Else why do we see so many posts of trust and honor filled with avowed enemies to England, and devoted friends of an usurper ?

But such an event under existing circumstances, would prove ruinous to our country. Allied, as England now is, with Spain and Portugal, the whole boundary line of these United States, both by sea and land, comprising a circumference of more than four thousand miles, would become an enemy frontier. Spain has never yet ceded Louisiana to us. The discontented subjects of that territory ; the jealous Mexicans ; the *choice spirits* on the waters of the Missisippi ; the restless, untamed sons of the forest ; and the British provinces of Canada, would all cooperate against us on that border : what barrier can we oppose to them in defence of that great section of the union ?

Come to our Atlantic seaboard.—What have we to defend our commercial towns and cities, the seats of our wealth, and resources of our revenue, against the combined navies of Great Britain and her allies? Will our gunboats and mud batteries do it? The notion is ridiculous. Can Bonaparte do it? Every body knows he cannot float a Frenchman across the Atlantic, except in disguise of a *mandarin!* A great statesman and philosopher would recommend asylum in mountains—but the dwellings like the habits of New England are too fixed for mountain retreats. Our altars and fire sides we cannot abandon for caves and grottos. If neither the policy nor the energy of the measures of administration can protect us at home, where shall we look for protection? Shall we cede ourselves to France by alliance with her tyrant? We commit national suicide and die an ignominious political death. We have the tale of half Europe to admonish us against such a dependence. Bonaparte like Judas, kisses to betray. The only possible benefit resulting from his good graces would be, to be brought calmly *in* from the "tempestuous sea of liberty," and securely grounded in the dry dock of despotism. Our imperial and royal ally would graciously signify to us his paternal solicitude for our safety by creating his well beloved nephew DON JEROME PATTERSON NAPOLEON, *King of these States; and his faithful and trusty General and Plenipotentiary* TURREAU, *Lieutenant and Regent of the kingdom during the minority of his said nephew.* Our governors of States would be provided from his general staff. Are Americans so soon prepared for this political annihilation and voluntary transmigration into reptiles? Not yet! Let us be loosed from the shackles which depress the nation; put on our armor; and let us like Spaniards, resist the lure and the fraud of a blood stained son of rapine.—To support this position must we take the hand of England? Then would our catastrophe be as certain; though we may linger out somewhat

longer a disgraceful existence.—Both these nations have an itching palm for this country. They have contended for it ever since its discovery, even when a forest. The oldest soldier and youngest student among us know this. But, if at a period when wild and unproductive, it was an object of contest, how much more so now when it might produce to a conqueror or a seducer, a revenue or a contribution of thirty millions a year. Against the lust of conquest and the pride of empire do we expect national *justice* to defend us? The term alas, is no longer to be found in the libraries of courts! Can *meekness* save us? When have we known a tyrant lift his foot from the neck of a voluntary slave, or a country receiving foreign protection who were not ultimately reduced to vassalage! No: It is upon the arm of God and the *use* of our own means that this nation must rely for the recovery of its rights and for the maintenance of our independence. Under that Almighty protection we must stand by our own strength. Alliances have generally ended in the same way the very instant a preponderance of power and advantage has fallen into either scale.

The great events now agitating in the eastern continent, may, and it would seem must so completely occupy the warring rivals of Europe that their avarice would be turned from the United States for a time; and great advantages, if improved, thence result to our commercial enterprise. Lift the Embargo; *leave commerce to shift for itself;* and, in despite of imperial decrees, we have open a vast field for the display of this enterprise. We have the British ports every where—Sweden and Norway—the whole coast of Portugal and Spain—the islands Minorca and Majorca—the whole Turkish coast of the Mediterranean, except Algiers—the entire western and southern coast of Africa—the borders of the Red Sea—India and China; Madeira, Teneriffe and the Azores—most of the rich islands of the West Indies—the Spanish and Portuguese coast of South

America—the whole American coast of the Pacific Ocean. And what is more important to us, our *own* Coast and our own Fisheries, comprising more than four fifths of the commercial coasts of the four Continents, and productive islands of the seas. Shall we forego all the advantages which could be derived from these sources of wealth from dread of the decrees of an adventurer, who has grown potent from incident, and whom the justice of Heaven may soon throw back to impotence on his native island of rocks and sterility? A mighty man of valor who dares not send a bombketch to sea through dread of his enemy! Such humility is too degrading to the feelings of brave men and honest Americans.

But if this crisis be seized as by many apprehended, and by some asserted, to try an experiment upon a favorite plan of withdrawing ourselves entirely from the seas, and wholly abandoning foreign commerce, it requires no deep penetration to foresee that the experiment, if persevered in, will produce a *dismemberment* of the union. "Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also." Friendship and union end the moment that interests clash, or that an *overbearing disposition* betrays itself in a section of the union. The commerce of New England is our most productive field of industry. Deprive us of this, and we may become hewers of wood and drawers of water to task masters of more luxuriant climates; But ere this humiliation sink us, *hearts will bleed* and *heads will fall.* I mean not generally to implicate any section of the United States in hostility to the interests and growth of the North and the East; but in some leading characters I have witnessed conduct which would justify the suspicion; and no where more strongly than in an obstinate opposition to the just claims of our countrymen who unsuspectingly purchased territory under the solemn grant of a state: I mean on the Yazoo. The embargo is not without its features of a simular design. It destroys the fruits of our industry and turns our labors to nought.

Agriculture is the handmaid of Commerce says a *great man.* But if the abilities of the Governess be pinioned, where shall the handmaid find means to be useful to herself? The present times answer this question. What is to be done with the surplus produce of *our* hard earnings upon our hard farms! Perish in our graneries and cells! Where is the circulating medium of our country? Embargoed. In banks, which like the gates of death, shut and no man opens—How shall the farmer and the fisherman discharge his contracts? By bankruptcy! How is the civil list to be paid? And how the national debt provided for? By direct taxes! How find the means to pay direct taxes? Our *dignified retirement within ourselves* does not afford them—Shall we all go privateering? We are Embargoed! Situated as we are we possess nothing, nor can we produce any thing which will bring cash. *And though we give our bodies to be burned, and have not cash, it is nothing.* Privation and imprisonment will not pay a debt of honor, nor satisfy an execution; but if things stand on as now going, this state of *dignified retirement,* will by and by become our dernier resort for making ourselves *respected abroad and secure at home.*

Our national father, Washington, whose name all parties hail with enthusiasm, always recommended to the states, as a strong bond of union, mutual sacrifices, forbearances and sufferings. (I wish his valedictory may be read in *caucuses.*) How has his council been respected? The eastern states have been left naked of defence to spare money for caparisoning a hobby on the west of our ancient boundaries,(for such is Louisiana.)and it is believed the Embargo was recommended, in some measure, to gratify the imperial vender of that hobby, lest in his wrath he should dismount his rider. Whatever the inducement to the measure, the author could not but foresee that it must, if continued, operate unequally upon the different states. The north and east have not the natural resources of the south and west

Some of our necessaries of life, many of our conveniences, and most of our luxuries, are derived from commerce: Deprive us totally of this resort, and wants both real and imaginary will assail us, and will produce that discontentment which presidential proclamations will find difficult to pacify. Let us be indulged in the exercise of our natural energy, the use of our resources, and the pride of our Independence; and we will not be reproachful at the philosophy which seeks shelter in a mountain or a tub. I shall vote for the Boston address—and I hope the President will give it, graciously, his high consideration.

In Town Meeting in Brimfield, Aug. 29, 1808.

Voted, to request of Gen. Eaton, a copy of his remarks on the subject of the Communications from Boston to the Select men of Brimfield, for the press.

Copy of record.

Attest, S. Pynchon, *Town Clerk.*

In December 1809, he was visited by Leitensdorfer, or Eugene, the man whom he sent to Upper Egypt in search of the Ex-Bashaw, and who accompanied Eaton through the desart of Barca, and acted as a Colonel in the battle of Derne. No man ever appeared to be more gratified than Gen. Eaton by this unexpected visit. Leitensdorfer tarried several days, then took his departure for the City of Washington, having first received from Eaton certificates of his unrewarded services, and recommendations to Gen. Bradley of the Senate and other members of Congress, to enable him to substantiate and obtain his dues.*

* *The reader will doubtless here be gratified with the following biography of this extraordinary man, from the Port Folio.*

Life of a Tyrolese at Washington.

Account of the remarkable Tyrolese, patronized by the American Government.

Sully thought it worth while to delineate the character of Servin; Goldsmith employed himself in describing the qualities of Chrichton:

He ever considered himself as having been the unintentional means of rendering the situation of the Ex-Bashaw less eligible than before his cooperation

and Johnson has drawn at full length the portrait of Savage. Other extraordinary persons demanded from time to time the aid of biography. For a year and more, a remarkable man has lived at the seat of the national government. He has attracted so much attention as to have been the subject of a special act of congress. Few of the members knew much about him ; and still less was known to the public. On the passage of the bill in his favor, one of the representatives of the people was, from diffidence and the love of quiet, withheld from delivering the following history of the man.

Gervasio Prodasio Santuari was born at a village near Trent, in the Tyrol, on the twenty first of October, 1772 He was educated in one of the schools of that country, in which part of the learner's time is devoted to literature, and part to the exercise of the agricultural and mechanic arts. He was then sent to college, for the purpose of being educated to the Romish church. But not liking his occupation or prospects, he quitted his theological studies and entered very young into the married life. For a while he solicited employment as a surveyor of land. Shortly after, when Joseph the Second ordered an expedition against the Turks, he entered the army under Laudun, and marched on the expedition to Belgrade. He afterwards sustained his part of the siege of Mantua under Wurmser. After the capitulation of that city, he was under the command of Alvinzy, and deserted from the Austrian army to avoid the punishment of hanging for having been concerned in a duel. He joined the French at Milan, and passed by the name Carlo Hossondo. But growing weary of the suspicion which attached to him as a spy, he poisoned the guards by administering to them drink containing deadly doses of opium, and escaped to a village situated in the southern extremity of Switzerland. Here, to avoid detection, he assumed the name of Johan Eugene Leitensdorfer. From this place he sent word to his family of his situation, and received from them a remittance of money. With this he bought watches and jewelry, and travelled into France and Spain, selling his ware as he went.

In this capacity he visited Toulon, and was induced to embark in a vessel and sail for Egypt. After his arrival he wandered to Cairo, while Menou commanded the French forces, and he assisted in the agricultural and economical projects of the institute that was formed there. Some time after the arrival of the English army and of Abercrombie's death, he quitted the French and attached himself to the British. By the English officers he was encouraged to open a coffee house, for their entertainment. In this occupation he collected money enough to buy a house, and to be concerned in a theatre, in which the military gentlemen of dramatic taste performed plays. Here he married a Coptic woman.

On the withdrawing of the English, he found it necessary to leave Alexandria too. He abandoned his wife, child and property, and arrived, after an ordinary voyage at Messina, in Sicily. At that place, being out of employment, and destitute of resources, he entered himself a novice in a monastery of Capuchin friars ; and after having practised their discipline and enjoyed their bounty, under the name of Padre Anselmo, until a convenient opportunity offered of running away, he went off in a vessel for Smyrna. He soon reached Constantinople, and there rambled about for three days without food or

with the forces of the United States: He likewise considered himself authorised to make the treaty with him which was made, and the government of the

drink. At length meeting a Capuchin, he begged of him a pack of cards and a pistol; and with the aid of these he exhibited tricks, and retrieved in some measure his desperate fortune.

About this time, Brune, who had commanded the French army at Milan, when he made his escape, arrived at Constantinople as the French embassador; and he, fearing that he might be discovered and arrested, enlisted in the Turkish service. Two expeditions were then on foot; one against Passwan Oglou in Bulgaria; and the other against Elfy Bey in Egypt. He joined the latter; and on the defeat of the Turkish detachment to which he belonged, saved his head by betaking himself to the desert, and courting protection from the Bedoween Arabs. After his unfortunate expedition, he returned to Constantinople, and solicited a passport from the Russian minister to get into Muscovy. This being refused him, he once more endeavored to obtain military employment, by the Turks; but in this he was unsuccessful.

He now resolved to assume the character of a dervise. These are the functionaries of religion, and always combine, with their sacerdotal office, those of physician and conjurer. To be initiated into this order he made a formal renunciation of christianity, denounced its followers for the wrongs and injuries they had done him, professed the Mahometan faith in due form, and to show that he was in earnest, circumcised himself in the presence of the faithful, by his own hand with a razor. This being accomplished, he joined, under the new name of Murat Aga, a caravan for Trebizoud, on the southern shore of the Black sea. On the way he practised his profession by giving directions to the sick, and selling, for considerable sums of money, small pieces of paper on which were written sentences from the Koran in Turkish, which he sanctified by applying them to his shaven and naked crown.

At Trebizond he was informed that the Bashaw was dangerously sick and threatened with blindness. He was directed to prescribe for this grand patient: but this he refused to do, until he should be admitted to the sovereign presence. Thither he was conducted through files of armed soldiers and ranks of kneeling officers. Having arrived in the sick chamber, the dervise displayed all the pomp and grandeur of his calling, by solemnly invoking God and the prophet. He next proceeded to enquire under what disease the Bashaw labored. Finding that he was afflicted with a fever accompanied with a violent inflammation of the eyes, and judging that he might recover both health and sight, he boldly declared it to be God's will that both these events should happen, after the next new moon, provided certain intermediate remedies should be used. Then searching the pouch containing his medicines and apparatus, he produced a white powder which he ordered to be blown into the bashaw's eyes, and a wash of milk and water to be frequently employed afterwards. Sweating was likewise recommended, by the assistance of warm drinks and blankets. He was well rewarded by money and presents; and the next day departed with the caravan towards Persia, intending to be nine or ten days' journey from Trebizond before the new moon should appear, that he might be quite out of reach, in case the event should be unfortunate.

United States bound for its fulfilment. Hence his complaints were constant against what he called the duplicity, injustice and treachery of Lear, sanctioned

This caravan being numerous, and heavily loaded, was overtaken some days afterward by a lighter, and armed caravan, who pursued them for the purpose of plunder. And the caravan to which he belonged finding it must either fight or purchase terms, it chose the latter. This affair being settled, he heard two men of the marauding caravan talking to each other, concerning the grand dervise who had cured the Bashaw of Trebizond. He heard them say that recovery was confidently expected, inasmuch as the threatening symptoms had abated, and the prospect was every way more encouraging. The dervise then rejoiced at the beneficial operation of the *caustic lime* which he had ordered to be blown into the Bashaw's eyes, to eat the films away. On his return the physician presented himself before the governor. He was received as a great and good man, and loaded again with donations.

At this place he remained until a caravan was prepared to undertake a journey to Mecca. To this body of pilgrims and traders, he attached himself as a dervise. They arrived in proper time in that region of Yemen. But the Wechabites had made great progress in their fanatical work. They had demolished in part the old religion of Mahomet, and set up their new revelation in its stead, burned the body of the prophet, destroyed the holy temple, and sequestered the revenue paid at the shrine of Mahomet The caravan feared to encounter these zealous and daring innovators, and halted at a distance. But the dervise, availing himself partly of his priestly occupation, and partly of his personal adroitness, went over to their camp, and was well received.

Having tarried as long as he pleased in Mecca, he went to a port near Jedda, a city on the Red sea. Thence he crossed to the west side, and coasted along to Suez There he made himself known to lord Gordon, a Scottish traveller, and entered into his employ, as an interpreter. With him he travelled to Cairo, and through the Lermar, to Nubia and Abyssinia. His last exercise previous to his seperation from that munificent gentleman, was to decorate with flowers, fruits, leaves, branches and chandeliers, the hall in which his employer, on his return, gave a splendid treat to the foreign residents and consuls, then at Cairo.

From this place, he returned after an absence of six years, to Alexandria: and on inquiring for his wife, was told she was in concealment. A separation was readily agreed upon by mutual consent, and she immediately formed a connexion with a Copt, a man of her own sect

Being once more in Cairo, he wholly threw aside the character of a dervise, and assumed the occupation and uniform of an engineer. Here he was engaged in planning military works, and in superintending their execution. While he was thus employed, news was brought him that captain EATON had arrived, and wished a confidential and intrepid agent, to convey a message to Hamet Caramelli, the Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli in Barbary. At an interview which took place between them, the former first swore the latter to secrecy on the Koran, and then communicated his project.

Having agreed to the conditions, he took the earliest opportunity to desert the Turks, and to penetrate through the desert to the Mamalike camp, where Caramelli was; in poverty and dependence,

by the administration. He frequently received letters from Hamet, some of which were forwarded to Congress ; and exerted himself as far as in his

though respected. It is to be understood that Egypt is divided into English and French parties : the Turks being attached to the French, and the Mamalukes to the English. With a single attendant and two dromedaries, he proceeded with the swiftness of wind, feeding the animals with small balls composed of meal and eggs, and taking no other sleep than he could catch upon the back of the hard trotting beast. He reached the Mamaluke camp in safety. The Chiek, in token of a welcome reception, gave him a few sequins, refreshed him with coffee. In a short time he so arranged matters with the Ex-Bashaw, that one night Caramélli went forth as if on an ordinary expedition with about one hundred and fifty followers, and instead of returning to his Mamaluke encampment, sped his way over the trackless sands, and with that force reached the rendezvous of the enterprising American.

With all the forces they could jointly assemble, they traversed, with extreme toil and suffering, the deserts of Barca, for the purpose of making a diversion in favor of the squadron of armed ships which the United States of America had ordered against the city of Tripoli. After surmounting incredible hardships, they arrived at Derne, and gained an advantage over the troops of the reigning bashaw in a skirmish. This action spread terror through all the Tripolitan dominions, and exceedingly alarmed the Bashaw in his castle. Immediately after a peace was concluded by consul Lear. In consequence of this, orders were forthwith sent to the American vessels on the coast and the co-operating land forces under EATON, to discontinue hostile operations. The Egyptian host was requested to embark in the American vessels. Part of them, thus stopped in midcareer, did so : and the rest remained on shore, subject, now they were inferior in martial strength, to the cruelty and caprice of the angry despot and his vassals.

Leitensdorfer was one of the persons who went on board and witnessed the mortification of the Ex-Bashaw and the ravings of his lieutenant general, at this unexpected order, so subversive of their plans, and so ruinous of their hopes. He himself acted as a colonel. In this vessel he went, by way of Malta, to Syracuse From which place he proceeded to Albina, taking the route of Corfu to Salona, with the design of inquiring by letter what was the situation of a son by his first marriage, whom he had left in Tyrol. Immediately on landing among the Turks, he was seized as an apostate Mahometan, and reduced to slavery. By degrees, however, he excited favorable sentiments, in consequence of having cured several sick sailors during the voyage. In addition to which he pleaded the necessity he felt, when in the American army of Africa, of conforming to the dress and manners of that strange and peculiar people of the west, under a belief that to be an American was not to be a christian. He was at length restored to the freedom of a faithful mussulman. He next visited Palermo, and there formed a temporary marriage with a female willing to engage in such a connexion.

About this time the new king of Naples threatened to conquer Sicily in spite of all the resistance that Ferdinand the Fourth, and the English could make. On this, Leitensdorfer became alarmed for his own safety, knowing that he had no mercy to expect from Frenchmen. He determined to embark as a passenger for the American States. But no master of a vessel could be found, who would receive

power for the restoration of Hamet's family. When he received information of his being appointed to the government of the Province of Derne,

him in that capacity. He then resolved to offer himself as a sailor; and was entered as such on board a vessel bound to Salem in Massachusetts. Here he learned to hand, reef and steer, and do the active business of a seaman. He arrived at Salem in December, 1809, and soon went on a visit to his old friend and fellow warrior at Brimfield. He was hospitably received, and left his late general, with honorable sentiments of his generosity and bravery. By him he was advised to visit Washington, and to present himself to the President and Secretary of State. For this purpose, EATON had furnished Leitensdorfer with recommendatory letters, stating the compensation due to him for his various services and losses. By these gentlemen, he was referred to the secretary at war; and was sent from one to the other until his skill in surveying, drawing and engineering became known to the surveyor of the public buildings, and he thereby acquired some of the patronage of Mr. Latrobe.

Thus he lived along occupying one of the vacant chambers in the northern pile of the capital, as a watch or an office keeper, providing and cooking for himself, and employing his hands in almost every kind of occupation, from the making of shoes, to the insnaring of birds, and the delineation of maps.

This extraordinary man is about five feet ten inches in height, with dark eyes, black hair and brown complexion. His looks are lively, his gestures various, and his limbs remarkably flexible and vigorous. His forehead is ample, his features expressive, and his figure rather spare and lean. With such natural marks and powers, he has been enabled to assume the respective characters of Jew, Christian and Mahometan; and of soldier, linguist, engineer, farmer, and tradesman with uncommon ease. And in short, he has proved himself to be one of the most versatile of human beings; having acted during his multifarious life in about thirty different capacities. In the course of his adventures he has received several wounds. And his eccentric life has afforded incidents to gratify the inhabitants of Vienna by a theatrical representation of his character on the stage.

He can utter the Hebrew words almost exactly like a rabbi in the synagogue. He can recite the Latin prayers and homiles of the christians after the manner and in the tone of the capuchins; and he pronounces the religious sentences of the mussulmen in Arabic, with the earnestness and emphasis of a mufti. All these he performed for me successively one morning with singular readiness and skill.

To complete his strange story, Mr. Bradley undertook to be his friend in the senate of the United States: and that body passed a bill, introduced by him, giving Leitensdorfer a half section of land (three hundred and twenty acres) and the pay of a captain from the 15th of December, 1804, to the 15th of December, 1805, being the time that he served as adjutant and inspector of the army of the United States, in Egypt, and on the coast of Africa.

The generosity of the house of representatives was manifested by the insertion of an amendment to give him a whole section of a mile square (six hundred and forty acres) of land, instead of three hundred and twenty. But the senate disagreed to it, and the house receded. So that his grant remained as originally introduced.

through the instrumentality of Doctor Davis, he expressed himself in the strongest terms of satisfaction, declaring he was then willing to die.

In January 1810 he received a letter from Mr. Humbert, * long his most intimate friend while in Tunis, to which he returned an answer: Extracts follow.

Brimfield, Jan. 15th, 1810.

My Dear Friend.

FORTUNE has reversed her tables.—I am no more Eaton. I live, or rather stay, in obscurity and uselessness. The wound I received on the coast of Tripoli, and others more early, have deprived me of an arm's use and the use of a leg—Want of economy, which I never learned, want of judgment in the speculative concerns of private life, which I never studied, and, what is more, privation of the consideration of a government which I have served, have unmanned me. * *

A fellow first fed on horse chesnuts and then on charity now bestrides the world, and fattens on gore: we Americans venerate him, because we have lost our national character; perhaps it was never well fixt. We can shew you citizens who fly to mountains and caves for a hiding place; but our

* The following lines were addressed to Mr. Humbert by Eaton when leaving Tunis.

Tunis Bay, March 10th, 1803.

Swift to the western world I wing my way,
Where light and freedom pour the radiant day;
Leave the curst shores of chains and stern despair,
To breath once more my happy native air!
Yet while o'er ocean's heaving breast I roam,
Rapt in the charm of Liberty and home,
My faithful friends shall claim the frequent tear;
But none more frequent than my friend Humbert. *
Once reached the wished for goal, Columbia's shore;
My cares forgotten, my misfortunes o'er;
There from my peaceful fields again I'll write,
What plain and honest friendship shall indite.
Till then, adieu, Humbert; may God extend
Bliss to thy wishes, and preserve *my friend*.

* Pronounced Hum-berr.

wars are on paper. Free presses, but no heavy metal. * * *

I am glad you are well; when I am so, I will write you more. Death has laid himself along side, and thrown his graplings upon my quarter and forecastle, but I keep him off midships yet."

During the winter of 1809-10, Gen. Eaton was much of the time confined to his house or his chamber with rheumatic and gouty complaints. The severity and continuance of his pains and his sufferings had however no admonishing affect in producing a change in his regimen. His friends and relations, sometimes with timid delicacy, sometimes with reproachful openness, and often with pathetic tenderness, entreated and encouraged a reformation of his habits. His resolutions of amendment were not unfrequent, but never executed. No man was more sensible than himself of the inevitable consequence of his excesses. At times, wakened by considerations of duty to his family, and his hope of reestablishing his character, and becoming useful to the community, he would

> Push his honest purpose to resolve,
> In all the magnanimity of thought,
> Resolve, and re-resolve;

but was ever incompetent to performance. Reflexions on his past misconduct, the loss of property by his imprudence, and the loss of reputation by his excessive indulgence, produced only sorrow and remorse, from which he sought immediate relief by recurrence to the temporary relief of the glass.

In the winter of 1810-11, he was much confined with an increase of chronic complaints and general debility. His appetite for food was almost totally gone. His feet and ankles became swolen, and a dropsy gradually ensued. His strength daily failed, so that in April he was scarcely able to walk. When the weather was pleasant he occasionally took a short ride in a chaise. In one of his last attempts to go abroad, he called upon a friend in the town, (Col. A. Morgan,) to rest and refresh himself.

During his stay he conversed with calmness on his approaching dissolution; gave directions for his funeral; and, calling for a pen and ink, after consultation with his friend, gave the names of four Colonels, who had commanded the regiment of militia of that town and vicinity, for his bearers.

In the intervals of distress and occasional relaxations from pain, he was frequently sociable, facetious or satirical. A neighbor, a cabinet maker, having called to see him, a few days before his death, he suddenly turned his head towards him, and calling him by name, addressed him thus: "If you should have the making of my coffin, let me beg of you not to make it of *pine*, for I can't bear the smell of it: and take care not to place me on my back, for in that position I am very subject to the night mare."

To the last, while he had the command of his senses, he was inquisitive for foreign news and political information. He considered this country as sold to France, unless the people should seasonably refuse to sanctify the bill of sale of it by the administration; which he rather hoped than expected. His opinions of Jefferson and Madison were expressed with the most bitter execrations.

He languished, becoming daily more weak, his legs and abdomen continuing to swell, till Friday, May 31st, before his senses or his memory seemed much impaired. In the evening of that day, two gentlemen coming to his bed side, and enquiring the state of his health, he readily made answer to one of them, calling him by name; but when addressed by the other he could neither call him by name, nor be made to notice him.

One of his neighbors and the editor of this volume watched with him during the night. He seemed insensible to all that passed, or unable to express himself. At one time, however, during the night, being asked if he would not take some drink, he distinctly replied; "Yes, I believe I will." About sunrise, being asked if he wished his head raised, he

answered "Yes, sir, I thank you." At other times he took no notice of what was said or done; and these were the last words he uttered. His respiration was regular during the day following; but gradually more and more rapid and difficult. About twenty minutes before nine o'clock in the evening, June 1st, he breathed his last, without a groan or struggle.

On the succeeding Tuesday he was buried under arms according to his wish; his bearers Colonels *Sessions, Morgan, Lyon* and *Patrick*. His body was carried to the Meeting house, where a very able, pertinent and pathetic discourse was delivered by the Rev'd Doctor Welch of Mansfield, (Con.)

Thus prematurely fell Gen. Wm. Eaton, a man blest by nature with talents of the highest grade. His career was brilliant and eccentric. He performed much, and was adequate to the performance of much more, had prudence kept pace with his ambition. His competency for greater actions ought not however to diminish the lustre of what he has atchieved. That he did not duly respect himself and maintain the high reputation to which he was at one time exalted, for the continuance or increase of his own fame and the service of his country, is a subject of just lamentation: but, in the words of Doctor Johnson, "when it is objected that much is omitted, let it not be forgotten that much also is performed."

Gen. Eaton's frequent imprudences of deportment have induced many who were but little acquainted with him to hold but a mean opinion of his abilities. His conduct, at times, was such as to justify among strangers the entertaining of such sentiments; but those who were intimately acquainted with him could possibly possess no other than an exalted opinion of his intellectual powers. Instead of a military, had he pursued a literary course; as a poet, divine, stateman or orator, he would have had few competitors. I once asked him what accident, or whether deliberate choice, first incited his desire of a military

life. He told me it was the perusal, when a boy, of an odd volume of Plutarch's Lives, or some other military biography, which directed his young ambition to the pursuit of glory by the profession of arms. While in college however he was at one time resolved on the study of divinity; and, after leaving the University, he at another time determined on the study of law: for which purpose he entered his name in an Attorney's office at Windsor (Vt.) and would doubtless have persevered had he been disappointed in his application for a commission in the army of the United States.

Among his loose manuscripts I find the copy of a letter, dated, "Ruins of Utica, August 22d, 1799," directed to the Rev'd Doctor Welch, inclosing a sermon in support of the Immortality of the Soul; from which a few extracts are here made.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

IT recurs to me that many years ago I promised you to "be a minister." "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." The incidents which have marked the path of my life since I thus plighted myself, no human penetration could have foreseen.—I can hardly say I have had a volition in them. I should then have thought it frantic in any one who should have predicted that at a future period I should date a letter to you from the *ruins* of *Utica*.

"Among the earliest moments of my beginning to think, the Christian religion exhibited to a mind, desirous of immortal life, excellent beauties, and sublime hopes: and though the evolutions of my existence hitherto have afforded fewer proofs of this impression than the sublimity of the subject should produce, it is nevertheless my frequent, though secret theme. * * *

"Placed as I am at present among ruins of human enterprise and ambition and monuments of human

greatness, which lie buried beneath the waste of many thousand years, this subject imposses itself on my mind with new solemnity and more impatience to believe. * * *

"Among my collegiate manuscripts I find something which I intended as the base of a sermon. On a review, at this late period, I recognize the thoughts; and, incoherent as they are, I give them to you. You will find little in them but the rhapsody of youth: but I have neither time nor means to give them the features of correct argument. * *

"Because priests have in all countries, except the United States, prostrated our religion to an instrument of oppression, it is no argument against the system. What good institution of government either in the religious, moral or political world, has not, in the hands of avaricious, cruel or ambitious men, undergone the same violation? * *

"The spotless life of Jesus is as great a miracle as his resurrection. Who ever lived as he lived? When his enemies arraigned him at the tribunal which was to decide on life and death, of what did they accuse him? Not of one moral vice! The Roman Governor with great propriety observes: He found no fault in him. * * *

"When, among his adversaries, we find a man who can introduce a better system for a rule of practice, and give us examples of more distinguished virtue, then shall we be safe in abandoning the Nazarine and following the reformer. But it so happens that the more a wise man assimulates himself in disposition and practice to the character of a perfect being, the more he resembles the *Man of sorrow*. * *

"Do we ever hear a dying man regret that he has lived *soberly, righteously and Godly, in the world*?

"Our system establishes a just balance between the monarchy of reason and the anarchy of the passions.

"It is the revelation of God. * *

"How should God but reveal what he has so deeply implanted in the human system? * *

"The materialist calls it pride. But his very labors prove that this pride exists in his own breast.—What but a desire of being immortalized in the memory of his survivors could prompt him to the laborious task of blotting out the hope of futurity, and of establishing a creed altogether useless to mankind, and cruel to the wretched ? * *

"What is ambition ?—Why are monuments erected ? Why preserve the likeness of our friends ? 'Tis immortality.—Why does the shepherd carve his name in the green bark of many a shrub ? 'Tis immortality, though he knows it not. 'Tis the God of nature moving in his breast. * *

"No man ever desired eternal death till guilt first made him shun the light, and pride forbade repentance. * * *

"We find in all ages that the advocates for immortality have been the supporters of moral virtue.

"If we cannot find argument, in natural philosophy, to support the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, so neither can we to prove the contrary. *

"If those who have placed their chief good in temporal enjoyments can content themselves with a good so transitory,—and if they are willing to flatter the wicked with this dark sanctuary of guilt ; it is nevertheless unkind to deprive the poor, the forlorn, the faithful, who have wandered as strangers and pilgrims through the tribulations of this world, of a hope so hospitable as a Savior's bosom ? *

"Dare we impeach the goodness of God of having prepared no reward for the righteous ?—Shall the hope of the just perish ? * *

"It will make the burthen of life easy and the pillow of death void of terrors. These are advantages which cannot be found in speculative philosophy.—They are precepts which the world can neither give nor take away. * *

"Philosophers argue that the decomposition of the animal system returns each material particle to its proper element. Why will not the argument apply

also to the rational principle with us?—Why may not even philosophy argue that this also shall return to its original source?—

Gen. Eaton's voice in public speaking was loud and distinct, his pronunciation slow and impressive. Almost his only exhibitions of public elocution were during one session of the legislature of this state: but enough was then discovered to warrant the belief that, if he had devoted his mind to the forum or the pulpit, he would have been one of the best of public speakers.

Of poetry he was fond though he never wrote much, nor was his poetical reading very extensive. The few pieces published in this volume however discover great strength of mind and great creative powers, with but partial cultivation. In a volume of his journals I find the following

ODE.

When God, the Architect Supreme,
At first conceived the amazing scheme,
From chaos and eternal night,
To call up order, worlds and light,
Deep in the omniscient mind, the plan
On fellowship revolved; when man,
Breathed from his own existence, stood
A beauteous portrait of his God;
For love, for social joy refined,
To every social joy inclined.
Blissful roll the moments on;
Glad'ning eve and cheerful morn;
Manly friendship, sacred love,
Eden's peaceful bowers improve.
But envy fell assumed control,
And ranc'rous passions seized the soul;
Chaos o'erwhelmed the world again;
Confusion re-assumed her reign;
Horror o'ercast the affrighted east;
And nature trembled to the west.
Man wept; accused; exile his doom—
A friendless, hopeless vast to roam;
Where hate, distrust, revenge and blood,
Effaced the image of his God!

Deserts drear convey no charms ;
Every rustling leaf alarms :
Jealous thorns to love succeed ;
Friendship's vows a thistle breed.
With pity mov'd—the Almighty Mind
Again conceived! the *Lodge* ordained !
Resolved on this eternal base
T'engrave his name ; restore our race ;
To earth give radiance from its day ;
Pour on the blind its visual ray ;
Extend its orb where thought extends ;
Nor end its reign till nature ends :
Bid peace, and truth, and joy, and love
Immortal, round its centre move.
Happy mortals saw once more
Blissful days like days of yore ;
Man, to ancient faith restored,
Resumed the image of his God.
Beamed from the east a genial ray ;
To western climates winged its way ;
Found out fair Freedom's hemisphere,
And shone a Constellation here.
Approving Heaven, with fostering hand,
Gave masons triumph through this land ;
And, firmly to secure our craft
From bigot rage, and envy's shaft,
Sent a Grand Master, Freedom's son,
The God-like patriot WASHINGTON !
Brethren, let's hail our WASHINGTON,
While planets through their orbits run,
And ever let his birth-night be
To us an annual jubilee.—

Washington City, Feb. 10, 1804. *Composed for the celebration of St.* GEORGE[WASHINGTON] *at Monson, 22d inst. by*
WILLIAM EATON.

These few specimens of his poetry, perhaps nearly all he ever wrote, though sometimes eccentric and incorrect, are sufficient to prove that if he had followed the Muses rather than Mars, his pursuit would have been crowned with success.

The remark of the Roman Satirist, NULLUM NUMEN ABEST SI SIT PRUDENTIA ; *no deity is absent where there is Prudence ;* though well known to EATON, had little effect on his deportment. Few men

had less government over the *unruly member*. What he thought at the moment was generally uttered at the moment, without regard to circumstances or consequences. So imprudent a frankness frequently generated distaste or created enemies.

It has been asserted that all men have nearly an equal share of Vanity, and that the appellation of modesty and egotism are bestowed only in proportion to the circumspection or heedlessness with which that Vanity is concealed or betrayed. As a general rule this opinion is probably correct. Were the real sentiments of the man apparently the most diffident displayed to universal inspection, we should hardly know how to discriminate, or whom not to pronounce externally vain. In the earlier part of EATON's life he was not remarkable for arrogance; perhaps not till his return from the Mediterranean in 1805, when in addition to ordinary approbation, by many he was be-plastered with the most extravagant adulation. When he arrived in Richmond (*Virginia*) on his way from Hampton to the seat of Government [*Nov.* 1805.] the Editor of one of the public papers there, the Enquirer, a man of ardent feelings but of little discrimination and less genius, published a long eulogy of childish extravagance, which, while it excited a smile with men of discernment, was swallowed by EATON with greediness and without offence. Other papers also, desirous of exalting the American military character, little hesitated at any extravagance of expression, that might exalt him or the reputation of his country. Anecdotes and sketches of his life soon circulated in the different periodical publications, which were not without their effect on his mind. Hence, as before observed, probably arose the opposition in the United States' House of Representatives to his receiving a medal; for from this time, a relation of his own exploits, and anecdotes of his own life, were too apt in all companies to engross his share of conversation; and, from the long habit of commanding, he had accustomed

himself to assume an authoritative tone of voice and contraction of brow, calculated frequently rather to inspire disgust than respect. These were however often laid aside, while his manners were gentle, his conversation instructive, his humor entertaining and his wit brilliant.

In some situations of life more than others, men are liable gradually to confirm intemperate habits: perhaps in the army more than elsewhere; when the association of the officers is constant, books scarce and genteel company often not to be had. To shun the *taedium vitae* of a peaceful camp, resort is therefore had to the diversions of the card table or the poisonous promotion of temporary hilarity. Here, though excesses may not at first be frequent, habits are by degrees formed and confirmed, which in time become too powerful for the feeble resolutions of the victim, and prematurely drag him to his "narrow dwelling." It is believed that EATON was not frequently the slave of his glass, till after his disappointment in not being permitted to march from Derne to Tripoli, and the sufferings of his sensibility when he found a majority of the legislature of his country indisposed to bestow a trifling evidence of their respect for his services. His pecuniary affairs were at this time also embarrassed by the delay of payment by Congress for money expended in the public services. A writer of considerable ingenuity and excessive severity with the utmost freedom ridiculed, in a public paper at the seat of government, his pretentions to the character of a warior or hero, and with much spleen exposed to the public some traits of vanity and egotism which had unguardedly been exhibited by EATON in a private circle. During the summer of 1807, there were many who without ground considered him as having at first listened with pleasure to Burr, intending should there be a prospect of success, to join in his enterprise. During the trial of Burr he was exposed to the sarcasms and severity of his attornies, particularly the

celebrated Mr. Martin ; and, by cards and betting on the issue of the trial, he lost considerable sums of money. He had certainly expectations of a high military appointment, which were continued a year or two but defeated. These considerations preying on his mind depressed his spirits and tended to increase the frequency of his recurrence to the deceitful method of restoring them by ruinous indulgences. His constitution was of the firmest kind ; and he long seemed unaware of the inroads he was making upon it. In May 1808, returning from Philadelphia to Brimfield, his stage companion was his old friend the venerable American Aristides, Mr. Pickering. On the morning of his arrival home, as soon as he entered the room with his fellow traveller, he enquired of his step son who was chosen to the next General Court, fully confident of his own re-election. The reply was given, that there were two elected. He eagerly enquired who they were. On being informed, his countenance bewrayed his disappointed feelings. The stage stopped but a few moments, and Mr. Pickering took his leave. He declared he had taken nothing stronger than coffee and tea for five days, and intended to dismiss forever the " cursed slow poison " as he called it. During his absence his carriage had been attached for debt. He appeared agitated and dejected, and shortly after took a walk to a neighboring inn, to alleviate his sorrow. Alas human frailty ! It is not improbable but that, had he met, on his return, incidents or information causing agreeable sensations instead of vexations, he might have adhered to his determination, and have been at this moment an honor and blessing to his country. But conjecture is useless, and regret unavailing. He several times declared his determination to change his habits, but the trial of one or two days rendered his resolutions useless.

There is no good reason to doubt but that in his younger days he was a serious and zealous believer in the Christian religion. His letter to Doctor

Welch, dated on the ruins of Utica in 1799, discover how much his mind was affected with religious contemplations, though some expressions indicate his doubts : especially where he speaks of his "*impatience* to believe." In another place he observes : "It is not for the followers of Jesus Christ to denounce vengeance against those men who soberly think themselves into Theism. Christianity forbids it : and the parable of the good Samaritan gives us a striking example to the contrary. We cannot admit therefore that the zealots in the cause of Christianity who deal chiefly in mystery, and who would enforce belief chiefly by terror, are true copyists from their Benevolent Master." Yet, whatever might have been his opinions till within a few years of his decease, certain it is that for several of his last years he not only improved opportunities offered, but frequently sought them, to display his wit, his ingenuity or knowledge, in attempts to weaken or destroy the arguments usually offered in support of Christianity. Ridicule was sometimes his weapon ; at others he made use of manly argument ; particularly endeavoring to invalidate the miracles related in the old and new Testaments by accounting for them on physical principles or misstatement of facts. His acquaintance with the manners and customs of Palestine, Egypt and Arabia, gave him some advantages in debate over his opponents. I have several times heard him relate the conversation that took place between himself and the Mahometan Mufti, or chief priest, at Tunis. The Mufti heard his relation of the principles of the Christian religion and his arguments to support its divinity as well as superior purity and sublimity over the Mahometan creed. With great warmth and zeal he then endeavored to combat his creed : and, on parting, with much emotion grasping his hand, with a broken voice and streaming eyes, entreated him to forsake his infidelity and fly to the true faith, believe in the Prophet and save his soul.

Eaton frequently mentioned the effect this interview had on his mind, in leading him to a belief that the mercy of the Omniscient was equally extended to the moral and sincere of every climate and every creed.

Hopes, fears, doubts and expectations, frequently agitated his mind, with regard to a future state. A short time before he died, the last time of his being able to ride abroad, the subject of a future state being accidentally introduced, I asked his opinion. With more carelessness or indifference than I had expected, he spoke of the dread of losing life common to most animals; with respect to man there was cause for hope of future existence, but no positive evidence. Formerly his hopes appear to have been much stronger; as the following extract will evince.

"Since the creation and fall of man, it has been the conversation of the thoughtful to obtain some evidence, some rational hope of existence beyond this span of life: because without such a hope all is visionary here. From the first moment of volition the mind is put in pursuit of some distant object, in the possession of which it anticipates rest and contentment. That object attained, it perishes in the enjoyment; another succeeds, and another in succession, till death arrests his pursuit, and leaves the man as if he had never enjoyed it, seeming to mingle him with original chaos. Every day brought conviction of the certainty of this catastrophe, and admonished men of the folly of confining the whole exercise of the soul to the things of a world so transient and so visionary.—He dared to soar and hope a future existence. Contemplating the infinite wisdom displayed in the construction of himself—his capacity for enjoyment, his propensity to hope—his instinctive dread of dissolution—his inclinations to social love, with all which he is endowed by the God of nature, he humbly soars and asks his great Creator, if this be all a fiction? Is there no distant clime, unseen by mortal eye, to which the soul, the rational principle

within us, shall emigrate, and find that fulness for which it is capacitated ? Reason affirms it, *but when or where ?* All is conjecture until revelation expels the doubts and bids him boldly hope.—"The promises which were first revealed to the fathers" &c.—— "And life and immortality were brought to light" &c.

"If man be wholly mortal, why this pageantry of worlds ? Why that glorious luminary the sun ? Was it spoken into splendor to light as through this dark heathenous world, into an abyss of everlasting night ?

"If immortality be a fiction, then what is creation but a tragic drama, in which the human race have thousands of years been wretched actors ; God himself being author and promoter ?

Is it then that we are involuntarily brought upon this stage, to gaze a moment in astonishment and admiration on the stupendous fabric of the universe, and then to close our eyes in eternal blindness, never admitted to behold and pay our homage to the Adorable Being who has spoken this universe into existence. It should require stronger evidence to embolden us to accuse the Supreme Intelligence of this farce, than to justify us in hoping more worthily of him.—"

The Rev'd Mr. Fay, the Minister of the town, called to see him as a neighbor. Mentioning that probably he was convinced that his mortal exit could not be long deferred, he asked him if he was ready to exchange worlds. "Oh, yes," said EATON, "like a jack Tar I am always ready." The reply appeared so unbecoming a man in his situation that Mr. Fay pressed the subject no further. Some time after, being about to retire, GEN. EATON, waving his hand, requested him to stop, and informed him that it might be agreeable to the family to hear a prayer. Mr. Fay asked him if he had any particular petitions to offer to the Throne of Grace. He replied that he[Mr. Fay]knew what was proper on such occasions.

The Rev'd Clark Brown of Swanzey, [N. H.] formerly a settled Minister in Brimfield, being in town on a visit, called to see GEN. EATON. After casual conversation Mr. Brown expressed a hope that his reliance on the intercession of a Savior would make tranquil his last moments: he seemed to assent by a nod of his head; and before his departure requested him to pray with him.

Perhaps it ought to be mentioned that about two months before his death he was very desirous of having his children baptized, to show, as he observed, his respect for the Christian religion: and he made application to Mr. Fay to perform the duty. After consulting some members of the church Mr. Fay wrote him a billet, informing him that his long absence from communication with the church, and his immoral habits, rendered it improper to perform such service. GEN. EATON was extremely indignant on receiving the letter.

These minutes respecting his religious sentiments are due to impartiality and truth. While they may gratify curiosity, they cannot justly give offence to any one. The example of the last years of GEN. EATON can give no triumph nor consolation to infidelity.

Generosity was one of the most distinguishing traits of EATON's character. No man could take more pleasure than he in acts of charity. When so reduced that it was sometimes with difficulty that the family "could provide for the day that was passing over them," if a poor neighbor or traveller solicited alms or assistance, he was ready to divide the last loaf or last pound of meat. This generosity was often in his better days carried to excess. Having once rode in a public stage a few miles he enquired of the driver what was his demand. "A *dollar*," was the answer. He gave him an eagle and refused change. This anecdote stands not alone. In his house he was ever hospitable or profuse: and

he delighted in giving entertainments to his townsmen, friends and strangers.

He was seldom backward in giving to enquirers anecdotes of his military life, relations of his travels, marches and skirmishes, or a history of the manners, character and pursuits, of people and nations with which he had been conversant.

Between gross flattery and just compliments he was but an indifferent judge. He seldom revolted at the most barefaced prodigality of praise. Adulation was generally a certain passport to his friendship; and of this foible advantage was sometimes taken for committing depredations on his property.

He was never rich. He held the commission of a Captain in the army when he married, the income of which was not more than sufficient for his support: and though Mrs. Eaton was left by her former husband in agreeable circumstances her property consisted principally of real estate. While he was Consul at Tunis, by commercial enterprise and exertion he acquired considerable property, a part of which he soon after devoted to the purchase of about forty acres of excellent land near the meeting house in Brimfield, and to the erection of an unnecessarily large house, the expense of which was little less than seven thousand dollars. In the management of his fiscal concerns, in the latter part of his life, he was careless, extravagant and imprudent. Depending generally on others for the execution of his orders and direction of his agricultural and domestic concerns, much was wasted by profusion and inattention, and much was dissipated he knew not how. Liberal to excess, his doors were ever open: and, ostentatious in his hospitality, while he possessed the means of gratification he delighted in displaying his generosity. In brief, for a considerable time he lived as if he were in possession of a princely estate that could never be expended, listening to no advice, governed by no considerations of futurity,

checked by no anticipations of inevitable consequences.

Of the ten thousand acres of land given him by the legislature of Massachusetts he sold one moiety in the winter of 1808, at fifty cents per acre. In the summer of the same year he was several times visited by the sheriff: and before the autumn of 1809 most of his property, even much of his household furniture, was embarrassed by mortgage and conveyance or lost at the fall of the hammer. He was too inattentive to avoid costs of suit by previous arrangement and timely provision; hence, in addition to the expenses of prosecution, much property was sacrificed for but a portion of its value. His circumstances, as well as his credit, health and character, might at any time have been retrieved by steadiness and exertion: but in proportion to the increase of his embarrassments seemed his indifference to the world and all its concerns.

There were however moments when he felt confident of being shortly able to surmount his difficulties and abandon his propensities. In the winter of 1809, I one evening conversed with him, after the family had retired, till a late hour in the night. His own situation, prospects and fears, were the subject of conversation, introduced by himself. He permitted me to say what I pleased, not only without apparent offence, but with cheerful attention. After a full and uninterrupted historical dissertation on his merits, atchievements, disappointments, hopes &c. for several years previous; attributing his first recurrence to excess, partly to the gradual increase of a careless habit, but principally to the ill treatment he had received from the general administration; I dwelt on the certainty of speedy ruin, without reformation; on the easy means of regaining health and reclaiming credit, peace fortune and honor; but, more than all, urged him to consider how high his name still stood, and how probable would be his advencement, at least to the first offices in the gift of the

state. He squeezed my hand, affected even to tears, applauded my frankness; and repeatedly, with much warmth of asseveration, expressed his determination "to be a man; to be EATON again."—Entering his room in the forenoon of the next day, he accosted me with, "Good morning—say what you please, but—no more lecturing—Come, take with me a glass of spirit and water."

Such was his indifference and inattention to his pecuniary affairs that he died insolvent, though not much in debt, debts of honor so called not being considered.

From a candid examination of all the circumstances and documents exhibited in this volume, I think it must appear evident that EATON was treated with great duplicity by the Administration, with respect to his connexions with Hamet the Ex-Bashaw. His letter to Col. Dwight unfolds facts that testify the caution of Jefferson, so as to enable him to throw censure on EATON, if unsuccessful, as acting without authority; or to demand credit, if successful, for assistance in the accomplishment of a great design. Why Lear was so anxious to make a treaty at the moment when in all human probability, with proper assistance from the navy, our troops and such as might easily have been procured had the fairest prospect of getting possession of Tripoli, and enforcing their own terms of adjustment; it is not for me to say; but for the reader to conjecture. "At present," says Lear in his letter to the Secretary of State, giving a history of his negotiation with the Bashaw, "I confine myself to the subject of the negotiation and treaty. As I have always been *opposed* to the Egyptian and Derne expedition, I shall say nothing on that subject, especially as I presume there will be full communications respecting it from other quarters"—Why he was opposed to it, no mention is made: but what can be more plain than that the success of EATON at Derne and the expectation of his threatened conquest of Tripoli and es-

tablishment of the rightful sovreign in place of his brother the usurper, were the principal causes of the treaty ; of the restoration of the captives ; and probably of the saving of hundreds of thousands, if not of millions, by procrastinating the war. "EATON," said an able officer of rank then commanding in the Navy in the Mediterranean," was running away with the *honor* of the Tripolitan war. Between an army and a navy jealousy is common. What had the navy done long before, after the atchievment of PREBLE ? Hence the readiness to snatch the first opportunity for a peace."—

EATON was not only disappointed at the fate of the Resolution for granting him a medal ; but probably more so, in not receiving some more subtantial evidence of his country's gratitude. "How many lives, how much money," says he, "has the peace saved the United States ? Millions. To whom is the credit due ? And do you refuse a bill of $40,000 ?— Impossible !" I know not why the sum of $40,000 is here mentioned : perhaps he expected that, instead of a bill authorising the Department of State to adjust certain disputable items in his account, the sum of forty thousand dollars would have been inserted partly as payment of just claims, but principally as a reward of his high merit and services. He certainly expected pecuniary or other remuneration much beyond what he received. Was such an expectation unreasonable ? By uncommon reward for uncommon merit and services of uncommon national utility, inducements are extended to the ambitious and enterprising, for the accomplishment of great, dangerous, or brilliant atchievments, not less conducive to the glory than to the interest of the state. The ample honors, promotions and rewards, granted of late to our national commanders, who have astonished their country by their courage, skill and conquests, cannot fail of rousing a spirit of emulation that must hereafter increase the reputation and prosperity of the United States. How different was the

treatment of EATON by the general government. How much did he not save the United States, by the plan and successful execution of a daring and dangerous enterprise, much superior in extent and effect to any of the late naval victories; yet what was his recompense? Not even a vote of thanks; a stigma the more bitter from the long agitation of the question; no promotion, no pecuniary remuneration, but delay and difficulty even in obtainining his just dues.

GEN. EATON was not a profound scholar. He however read much and thought much. To the Greek language he paid no attention after leaving the University; to the Latin but little: the French and Italian languages he could read with ease and speak with considerable fluency. History, geography and tactics were his principal studies: with the former he was much, with the last he was fully acquainted. Military parade and the sound of the drum and the fife gratified and animated him to the last.

He was naturally a rhetorician. Though he scarcely knew by name a figure of that art, he used most of them with correctness. His language was harmonious, energetic, and correct; as his official and other correspondence evidently testifies.

Of that virtue usually called public spirit he had a very great portion, often indeed carrying it to excess by expenditures beyond his income. The wellfare and improvement of the town in which he lived engrossed much of his time, and much of his money.

In his deportment towards his family, and others, in the latter part of his life, he was irregular and capricious, sometimes treating them with affability and gentleness, and sometimes with harshness, severity, and great rudeness: angry at one time without a motive, and pleased at another without a cause: hence his commands were often foolish or absurd, of course neglected, or obeyed from terror

rather than respect or affection. Nothing that could be effected by the patience, discretion, good sense and singular fortitude, of his wife, was withheld, to correct his irregularities and promote his comfort.

In his pecuniary dealings he appears to have been governed by principles of justice, honor and generosity. There is no doubt but that he might have amassed a considerable fortune while Consul at Tunis, had he employed the many opportunities which were there afforded for robbing his government, almost without the possibility of detection. How easily he might have enriched himself may be learned by referring to the 250th page of this volume. Few indeed would have neglected the fair opportunity he had of securing eight or ten thousand dollars by the purchase of the six Danish vessels at one third their value. He restored them at their cost. The reasons for which, given in his letter to Mrs. Eaton, do honor to his feelings.—"Ask you why? Because there is more pleasure in being generous than rich. *Man wants but little, not that little long.* I have had the pleasure of seing eighty six unhappy captives embark in these vessels, and shape their course for their native country."

Gen. Eaton was about five feet eight inches in height: of a fair complexion, inclining to ruddiness: his eyes large and blue, expressive of energy, penetration and authority, impatience and disquietude: his nose of the ordinary size and shape: his mouth large; his lips full but not swelling: his eye bones uncommonly large, and his forehead immediately above remarkably retreating, then raised to the ordinary height. His whole countenance announced vigor, dignity and command; but, especially in his last years, more their assumption than native possession.

He left five Children: three fine daughters, aged, at his death, about sixteen, fourteen and twelve; and two sprightly boys, about six and four years of age.

From the works of the late Robert Treat Paine, Esq.

ODE.

Written for, and sung at the Anniversary of the GEN. EATON Fire Society, January 14, 1808.

Tune—"GOD SAVE THE KING."

BLEST be the sacred fire,
Whose beams the man inspire,
Panting for praise!
Renown her laurel rears,
Not in a nation's tears,
But in the Sun, that cheers
Her hero's bays.

In Afric's cells confined,
Columbia's sons had pined,
'Mid hopeless gloom:
By native land forgot,
By friend "remembered not,"
They delved their captive spot.
And hailed their tomb!

Who, for the brave, could feel?
Who warm, with patriot zeal,
Their country's veins?
EATON, a glorious name!
Struck, from the flint of fame,
A spark, whose chymick flame
Dissolved their chains.

O'er Lybia's desert sands,
He led his venturous bands,
Hovering to save;
Where Fame her wings ne'er spread
O'er Alexander's head,
Where Cato bowed and bled
On glory's grave.

Though earth no fountain yield,
Arabs their poignards wield,
Famine appal;
EATON all danger braves,
Fierce while the battle raves,
Columbia's Standard waves,
On Derne's proud wall,

Long to the brave be given
The best reward of Heaven,
On earth beneath !
His country's Spartan pride,
To honest fame allied,
No serpent e'er shall glide
Under his wreath.

Blest be the sacred fire,
Whose beams the man inspire,
Panting for praise !
Renown her laurel rears,
Not in a nation's tears,
But in the Sun, that cheers
Her Hero's bays.

EXTRACT from a very meritorious Poem delivered before the *Washington Benevolent Society* in *Newburyport*, October 27th, 1812, by JOHN PIERPONT, ESQ.

Then, nay since then, while yet a twilight grey
Gave to our eyes the parting beams of day,—
For, when our sun, * our glory sunk to rest,
He fringed with gold the curtains of the west,
And poured a lustre on the world behind,
That faded, as the mighty orb declined ;—
Our eagle, soaring with unwearied flight,
Mid clouds t'enjoy the last faint gleam of light,
With piercing eye glanced o'er the wat'ry waste,
And saw her flag by Mussulmen disgraced ;
Nay—heard her children on Numidia's plains,
Sigh for their homes, and clank *Abdallah's* chains :
The gen'rous bird at that incensing view,
Caught from the clouds her thunder as she flew,
With dreadful shriek alarmed the guilty coast,
And launched the bolt on *Caramelli's* host—:
Crescents and turbans sunk in wild dismay ;
The Turkish soul, indignant, left its clay,—
Though to the brave, a rich reward is given,
The arms of *Houris*, and the bowers of heaven—
And EATON trod in triumph o'er his foe,
Where once fought Hannibal and Scipio.

* WASHINGTON.

There is an error in the 10th page of this volume : the name of GEN. EATON's father was NATHANIEL, instead of *Nathan*.

FINIS.